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ROYAL COMMISSION STUDIES

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*selected from the special studies  
prepared for the Royal Commission  
on national development in the*

ARTS, LETTERS  
& SCIENCES

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ROYAL COMMISSION STUDIES





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A SELECTION OF ESSAYS PREPARED  
FOR THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON  
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN  
THE ARTS, LETTERS  
AND SCIENCES

Ottawa: EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P.,  
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1951





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	vii
*PRESENT DAY INFLUENCES ON CANADIAN SOCIETY	
B. K. SANDWELL - - - - -	1
THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN CANADA	
HENRY ALEXANDER - - - - -	13
LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE AU CANADA	
PIERRE DAVIAULT - - - - -	25
*THE PRESS OF CANADA	
WILFRID EGGLESTON - - - - -	41
LA PRESSE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE AU CANADA	
DONATIEN FRÉMONT - - - - -	55
*CANADIAN LETTERS	
EDWARD MCCOURT - - - - -	67
LA LITTÉRATURE	
RENÉ GARNEAU - - - - -	83
THE HUMANITIES	
MALCOLM W. WALLACE - - - - -	99
*PHILOSOPHY	
GEORGE P. GRANT - - - - -	119
LA PHILOSOPHIE AU CANADA DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE	
CHARLES DE KONINCK - - - - -	135
PSYCHOLOGY	
WILLIAM LINE - - - - -	145
LA PSYCHOLOGIE	
R. P. NOËL MAILLOUX, O.P. - - - - -	165
SOCIAL SCIENCES	
B. S. KEIRSTEAD AND S. D. CLARK - - - - -	179

# ROYAL COMMISSION STUDIES

	Page
L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES SCIENCES SOCIALES AU CANADA DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE	
MAURICE TREMBLAY ET ALBERT FAUCHER - - - -	191
NATIONAL HISTORY	
HILDA NEATBY - - - - -	205
L'HISTOIRE NATIONALE	
CHARLES BILODEAU - - - - -	217
CANADIAN ARCHIVES	
C. P. STACEY - - - - -	231
HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND MUSEUMS	
W. L. MORTON - - - - -	249
THE NATURAL SCIENCES	
J. W. T. SPINKS - - - - -	261
LES SCIENCES	
LÉON LORTIE - - - - -	289
LES MATHÉMATIQUES	
ABEL GAUTHIER - - - - -	301
MEDICAL RESEARCH	
G. H. ETTINGER - - - - -	317
THE TEACHING OF APPLIED SCIENCE	
K. F. TUPPER - - - - -	337
MUSIC	
SIR ERNEST MACMILLAN - - - - -	353
THE THEATRE	
ROBERTSON DAVIES - - - - -	369
LES ARTS DANS LA PROVINCE DE QUÉBEC	
GÉRARD MORISSET - - - - -	393
PAINTING	
CHARLES F. COMFORT - - - - -	407
ARCHITECTURE	
ERIC ARTHUR - - - - -	419



## INTRODUCTION

Soon after the beginning of our work, when the full extent and the complexity of the task became apparent, it occurred to us that we would be greatly aided and that our ultimate Report would be enriched if we could call upon the specialized knowledge of certain Canadian authorities in the various subjects which we were instructed to review. We therefore requested a number of persons, eminent in their arts or their professions, to prepare for us studies on many of the matters relative to our Terms of Reference. Their response was both prompt and generous; and our belief that our work would be greatly facilitated was amply justified by the sequel. In our Report we have listed the Special Studies prepared for us, and we have paid tribute to the many distinguished Canadians who have put their knowledge and their experience so generously at our disposal.

The Studies thus prepared for us were found to be so valuable and of such great interest that we thought that at least a fair selection of them should be published. They were, however, much too long for publication in the form in which they were originally drafted. Some of them were technical in nature, and others dealt with matters which were of relatively specialized or restricted interest. A few of the Studies, such as one which was received on Indian Arts and Handicrafts, were so fully documented with illustrations inseparable from the text that their publication was not practicable. Accordingly, we made a selection of the Studies prepared for us, and requested the authors to reduce them if possible to about five thousand words in length. This was a difficult task and we are most grateful for the goodwill with which our authors accepted this second appeal to their time and to their skill.

We now present of these Studies twenty-eight which we think are representative of those which we received, and which we believe will be of the most general interest. The fact that we were able to call upon so many distinguished Canadians for assistance in our task, and that our appeal for this assistance was so generously and so competently met, was to us reassuring evidence of the state of the arts, the letters and the sciences in Canada. We trust that the reading of these Studies, even in their present shortened form, will bring as much pleasure and profit to our fellow citizens as it did to the members of this Royal Commission.

Vincent Massey, *Chairman,*  
*Royal Commission on National Development*  
*in the Arts, Letters and Sciences.*



All the views expressed in the following series of Studies are to be attributed solely to their respective authors; in no way should they be regarded as representing opinions of the Royal Commission responsible for the publication of this volume.





## PRESENT DAY INFLUENCES ON CANADIAN SOCIETY

B. K. SANDWELL

I HAVE been asked to prepare for the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences "a general study of the main influences which are now shaping Canadian society". From the terms of reference of the Royal Commission it is obvious that this means the influences which are shaping Canadian society in respect of the arts, letters and sciences, or in other words of the intellectual life and cultural character of the nation. The influences which are shaping Canadian society in respect of its economic, social and political structure can therefore be ignored except in so far as they indirectly affect its intellectual life.

In discussing the influences which operate on the intellectual life of a community such as the Canadian people, it will be necessary to give a major share of attention to the various mechanisms by which ideas and ideals are communicated or diffused among the individuals who constitute the community. Even in considering the intellectual development of an individual, we have to consider the outside sources from which it draws nourishment as well as the internal processes by which that nourishment is absorbed. The intellectual development of a community depends in part on the mechanisms of communication within that community, and in part on the mechanisms of communication with other communities and the influences which these external communications bring to bear upon it.

In the case of Canada the external communications are of greater importance than in the average national society, for several very obvious reasons. This exceptional importance of the external communications (which implies a relatively smaller effectiveness for the internal communications) is due to a number of factors, among them Canada's extreme youth as a single and self-conscious community, its extreme smallness in population and wealth (and the excessively thin distribution of that population) in comparison with the nations whose cultures impinge upon it, and the very mixed racial character of its population. But there is also another factor diminishing the effectiveness of its internal communications, and that is the circumstance that they do not operate with uniform force throughout the whole of the Canadian community. There

are in fact two Canadian cultures, almost wholly separate each from the other, and with even less communication between them than each of them has with the outside cultures which are nearest to and most operative upon it. It is only after making very large allowances for this limitation that it is possible to speak of a Canadian culture at all; and whenever we speak of it as if it were a unit we must be careful to remember that its unity is the unity of a walnut—it has a single shell, but within that shell are two quite distinct formations of meat flimsily joined in the centre. The shell is the political structure of the nation, still preserving some of the softness of its unripe stage as a colony, but being gradually hardened by exposure to the sun and wind and rain of a very variable international climate. The meat is the two cultures, as yet very lightly joined together, of French-speaking and English-speaking Canada.

A hundred years ago this question of the mechanisms which operate in the diffusion of ideas and ideals would have been vastly less important. All over the world the diffusion was then carried on mainly by personal contact, in locally organized groups, composed of persons who rubbed shoulders with one another throughout their working year. The printing press was almost the only means of communication which operated on a large scale and over great distances, and its output was but an infinitesimal fraction of what it is today. Culture in the collective sense was a characteristic of a small local community; the culture of London was radically different from that of Edinburgh, and the two influenced one another but slightly. A few world-famous universities attracted to themselves students from remote parts of the world, and travellers brought knowledge of the artistic achievements of one community to another community; but even in these cases the mechanism was still one of personal contacts.

Today the personal contact is perhaps the least common of cultural influences—though where the “person” involved is a personality of strongly persuasive quality it is still so immensely more effective than any non-personal influence that it must not be described as the least important. A fair proportion of university students, and a much smaller proportion of high school students, have their culture appreciably enlarged by contact with the type of instructor who can impress his personality strongly upon a considerable number of “disciples”; but the vast majority of instructors fulfil no other function than that of telling the student what he must learn and what he can safely ignore in the prescribed textbooks (which are the real instruction) and examining him at suitable intervals to make sure that he has learned at least 60 per cent of what he ought to.

The effective mechanisms of diffusion today are much less human and more mechanical. In saying this we must not forget that no cultural influence ever originates in a machine; the machine merely takes some-



thing which was originated by human beings and transmits it to an enormously larger audience than they could reach by direct contact. But in so doing the machine exercises a special process of selection, quite different from that which would operate in direct person-to-person contacts, so that the cultural forces which it sets in motion are different from what they would be if the originating human beings were appealing only to the small local groups which would constitute their audience if there were no mechanical device for expanding it. (The radio transmits grand opera, but it is not an opera house; it transmits sermons and even communion services, but it is not a church.)

Except for the printing press the mechanical devices for the diffusion of culture (that is not the only purpose which they serve) are almost wholly a product of the inventions which took place around the turn of the century, and were gradually brought into general use during the last thirty years. They are in the main devices for the recording and reproduction of sound and pictured movement, and for the long-distance transmission of sound and now also of pictured movement. At the same time the purely mechanical powers of the printing press have been greatly expanded by the introduction of photo-engraving and the four-colour process. As a result many forms of beauty appealing to the senses of sight and sound, and many intellectual concepts of high value, have been made promptly and cheaply and easily accessible to millions who a generation ago would have been completely beyond their reach. It is now possible to live in Northern Alberta and hear a certain (limited) number of opera performances better than one would hear them in the gallery of the Metropolitan Opera House; and, if one has a cinema within reach, see and hear an hour-and-a-half condensation of *Hamlet* better played than in almost any great theatre.

But there is a very heavy price to be paid for all this, and it consists in a cutting down of the non-mechanical, person-to-person, cultural contacts. The human mind is capable of receiving only a limited number of cultural impacts in a given time, and the immense multiplication of mechanical impacts (not all of which by any means are culturally beneficial) has vastly reduced the number of direct personal impacts which the average Canadian receives during his culturally receptive period. The transmission of culture in the home, from older to younger generations and from older to younger members in the same generation, which fifty years ago was of first importance in the cultural processes, is now almost extinct. It is true that it had little value in those families where even the older or best educated members had little to offer to the others; but for such families there were personal contacts available in the local community outside the home, which are now also much more rare because everybody is so much more preoccupied. The school is now almost the

only person-to-person cultural contact which is left in full operation; and the influence of the school contact is greatly reduced by the fact that out of school hours it has to compete with a host of impacts delivered by the mechanical devices of radio and the cinema, impacts of a far more alluring character than anything that the most Dewey-ite school curriculum can offer. Culture, in other words, is no longer mainly transmitted in youth by the little red schoolhouse; it is transmitted by Hollywood and Radio City, and by books and magazines which are more and more becoming accessories of those institutions. The human originators of the cultural impacts transmitted by these mechanical devices are far removed from, and quite insensitive to, the human recipients of them; and between the originators and the recipients stand the selective operations of those who operate the mechanisms and choose the matters to be transmitted.

The whole direction of the progress of culture in Canada (as in other "Western" countries) will thus in future be largely in the hands of the operators of certain mechanical devices of large-scale diffusion. The operation of these devices is extremely expensive. To the extent to which they are in private hands, they must be operated with a primary eye to revenue. Some of them—the cinema is the chief example—obtain that revenue by a direct charge levied on the the consumer every time he does any consuming. Others of them—the radio is the chief example—cannot for physical reasons charge the consumer anything for his separate acts of consuming, and must obtain their revenue either by selling a by-product, namely the opportunity which they can give to advertisers to push their wares, or by taxing the consumer on his possession of the mechanical device which delivers the main product, the broadcast, into his home. In all cases there is a strong motive for the operator to desire the largest possible number of acts of consumption—in the cinema because each act of consumption brings revenue, in the advertising-paid radio because it brings listeners for the advertising, and in the tax-paid radio because it lessens the resistance to the tax.

An essential difference between the personal-contact media of diffusion and the mechanical media lies in the fact that for the first the audience is inevitably limited and for the second it is not. The classroom, the lecture hall, the church, the theatre, are personal-contact media; the cinema and the radio are media of mechanical diffusion. The most successful of stage plays can reach only a few thousand people in a week; any successful film or radio performance will reach millions. The new media have for this reason become known as mass communication media, and the methods by which they operate have become the subject of a special branch of psychology known as the science of mass communication. Their effect upon the intellectual processes of the general mass of the

population must inevitably be very great, and the problem of how to ensure that it shall be healthy and beneficial is certainly one of the chief problems of our time.

(The printing press, which is more elastic in its reach for an audience than the newer mechanical media, can straddle the dividing line and extend into both classes, that of the limited-audience medium and that of the mass communication medium. It can print for the tastes of a few hundred and for the tastes of many millions. The works of James Joyce and the contents of *News of the World* are both designed for diffusion by the printer, the former with a view to reaching only an infinitesimal fraction of the total reachable audience and the latter with a view to reaching the largest possible fraction.)

The operators of the various kinds of mass media are all in constant and very fluid competition with one another, a competition which is equally vigorous between one medium and another and between rival operators in the same medium. All of them (radio, cinema, television) compete directly for the time of the potential audience; the radio does not compete directly for its money and probably neither will television, simply because it is difficult or impossible to collect a direct payment for the delivery of a radio or television transmission. One natural result of this competition is a strong tendency to cater to the widest audience that the operator can hope to attain, and to abstain from any effort to cater to the special tastes of a select and smaller public. This tendency is partly due to the fact that the mechanism of diffusion does not offer much opportunity for discrimination on the part of the consumer. "Going to the theatre" and "going to a concert" are acts which are performed with some deliberation, usually arranged well in advance, and with considerable attention to the programme which will be presented. "Going to the movies" and "dialing in" a broadcast are vastly less discriminating actions, often performed without any forethought and without any consideration or even knowledge of the programme which will result, or at any rate of any factor in it except the name of a well known and favorite performer. A performance which is slightly "over the heads" of the ordinary mass audience therefore not only fails to get the special audience which it requires, but worse than that, it annoys and drives away a large part of the audience which it does get, and therefore disappoints the management of the cinema or the broadcasting station which presents it, and which is chiefly concerned to promote the habit of continuous attendance or continuous listening-in by the type of audience which likes the mass-appeal programmes.

The effect of this tendency to cater almost exclusively to the mass audience can hardly be favourable to a high cultural level in the entertainment thus provided. Moreover this effect extends beyond the limits



of true mass media; for the arts of writing for the theatre and even of writing novels are being more and more influenced by the desire to make the movie rights of the resultant play or novel as valuable as possible, since the revenue from that source may greatly exceed what can be obtained from the original method of communication.

We live, therefore, in an era and a society in which the number of impressions received from a distance is vastly greater, and the number of impressions received by personal contact is vastly less, than was the case a generation ago; and the impressions received from a distance have a very different quality, and are strained through a very different selective process, from the impressions received by personal contact. This raises an important question for national authorities, because the mechanisms which transmit the long-distance communications are physically quite unaffected by national boundaries. I say physically, because where the national boundary coincides with a difference of receptive attitude between the two sides of it, there will be an obstacle, not to the physical transmission, but to the mental reception of the communications which originate on one side but offer themselves on the other side. Even where communicator and receiver use the same language there may be a difference of mental attitude; some radio commentators in the United States have a poor audience in Canada not because they cannot be heard, but because their mental attitude or their philosophy is not congenial to Canadians. Where there is a difference of language, as between the French audience in Quebec and the broadcasters of the United States, the obstacle is obviously greater, but in cinema production this obstacle can be and largely is overcome by substituting a French sound-track or providing French subtitles. Broadly speaking, however, the mental attitude of Canadians is so close to that of the general mass of the people of the United States that they receive American broadcasts and cinema productions with no sense that they are "foreign" products; the culture of English-speaking Canada is so little differentiated from that of the United States that when the Americans are not dealing with their own politics they seem to be speaking from the same body of general assumptions as if they were Canadians. (With the French-speaking Canadians it is much more the difference of mental attitude, of fundamental philosophy, that constitutes the obstacle, than the difference of language, for the educated element among them can listen to English with ease, but they are always conscious that there is much that is alien to them in the general thinking of Americans; unfortunately they find the same alien quality in much of what is expressed in English-speaking Canada.)

The conclusion from all this is that the Canadian people, especially those of the English tongue, must inevitably be highly receptive to every kind of communication from the United States; and since that country



adjoins ours along a three-thousand-mile boundary and contains twelve times as much population and probably fifteen times as much wealth, it is equally inevitable that such communications should be very numerous. Canada, as was pointed out to the Commission in the Brief of the Periodical Press Association, is the only country of any size in the world whose people read more foreign periodicals than they do periodicals published in their own land—local newspapers excluded. The plain truth is that most Canadian readers have no consciousness that these foreign periodicals are foreign; they seem like the natural reading-matter for Canadians, and if every now and then they discuss something about which the Canadian can do nothing himself, such as who shall be President of the United States or how much shall be advanced to Europe under Marshall Aid, he still feels a lively interest in these questions (perhaps as an American woman might have done before women were granted the vote) and does not in the least mind being addressed as if he were a maker of Presidents and a controller of Congress appropriations. He scarcely notes that these periodicals take no interest in who shall be Prime Minister of Canada or how the Canadian Army shall be equipped; and one of the regrettable results of his reading them so much is that he comes to wonder whether he should take much interest in these minor matters himself. The politics of a pivotal state like Pennsylvania, Ohio or California, which interest all Americans because they can affect the national government, come to seem more interesting to him than those of Canada, which these periodicals neglect because they cannot affect Washington in any way.

(This is not an exaggeration. I have among my personal friends several business men who have lived all their lives in Toronto and have all their business interests here, but who know vastly more about American politics and are more interested in them than in Canadian politics. Admittedly some of the American politicians are more colourful figures, and the American issues are more dramatic, than is the case in our own country, but these cases seem to indicate a lack of the sense of participation in the political life of the country which is alarming.)

However, it is of little importance what are the various reasons, and in what proportions, for the American lack of interest in the more human aspects of Canada, since there is nothing that Canada could do about that lack of interest, directly, in any event. The important thing is to give as much encouragement as may be possible to the development in Canada of all the arts, to be practised by Canadians (or at any rate by people who know Canada) for the benefit primarily of Canadians. Nothing will contribute more to an interest in Canada on the part of Americans than a rich artistic treatment by Canadians of their own mat-

erial, and that treatment must be designed primarily for Canadians and not for any foreign market.

The newspaper, it is to be noted, operates under somewhat different conditions and at considerably less disadvantage. Newspapers maintain their hold on their own territory chiefly by giving an adequate supply of news local to that territory and by selecting among the external news those items which are most likely to interest readers in that territory. This is a function which cannot be performed by any newspaper catering to a different territory, least of all by a newspaper catering to a territory which is within a different sovereignty and is governed by a different political system. A few American newspapers, mostly weeklies or Sunday editions, which specialize in crime and sex—two subjects in which there is a fairly uniform interest in both countries—cross the border into Canada in large quantities; but while this may discourage the rise in Canada of similar periodicals it can hardly be held that it involves any cultural setback. The rest of the importation of newspapers consists almost wholly of the very large metropolitan newspapers of New York and Chicago, which supply the serious Canadian reader with a volume of foreign and United States news which the Canadian papers with their relatively small circulation could not hope to rival. The newspapers may therefore be regarded as enjoying a natural and automatic protection in the territory which they respectively serve, a protection resulting both from their selection of news and the promptness with which they can deliver it. The Toronto newspapers are not affected by any serious competition from newspapers in Buffalo, Detroit or Chicago. (The position of Windsor, which is partially that of a suburb of Detroit, may be somewhat special, but since the Windsor daily newspaper is one of the best in the country it cannot be wholly a disadvantageous one.)

A peculiar feature of the newspaper situation in Canada, which may be worthy of the attention of the Commission, is the extensive purchase, by individual newspapers and by news services supplying groups of newspapers and even the entire daily press of Canada, of news items which relate to events occurring in many parts of the world (including Great Britain, the other countries of the Commonwealth and even Canada itself on occasion), but which are written from a point of view and in a tone determined by the tastes of the American reader. These items, which are frequently quite clever and entertaining, often appear with no indication of their American treatment, bearing no markings except the place where the event recorded occurred and perhaps (not always) the name of the agency in Canada which handled them but which has no control over their character. Thus a Vancouver daily purchases the Ottawa service of the *Chicago Tribune*, and prints it with no indication of its origin except the name of the correspondent, who is probably not known

to be a *Tribune* man to more than one in a hundred of the Vancouver readers and is doubtless supposed by them to be writing specially for the Vancouver paper in question. A few weeks ago this correspondent sent in a story, which was duly printed in Vancouver with his by-line (but with no reference to the *Tribune*), stating that the Canadian government had demanded the right to place Canadian military officers in the top command of the American military establishments in Newfoundland. This is an extreme case, and the sale of the *Tribune* service in Canada is probably not extensive; but even the *New York Times* service, which is probably the best on the continent for impartiality, occasionally treats in a decidedly American manner subjects about which there may be a slight divergence of opinion between Great Britain and the United States. Because these items contain a strong element of news, or indeed consist wholly of news and are objectionable only because of a slight tone or colouring in the treatment, they have to be used by the Canadian newspapers which purchase such services, because they would otherwise have no information on a possibly important event.

There is also an extensive offering for sale to Canadian newspapers of the products of American columnists, some of whom are strongly subject to the same objection as being concerned solely to cater to the tastes and opinions of American readers. About these, however, the Canadian newspapers have in recent years become a great deal more selective; and they are under no such pressure to use these "columns" because the element of news in them is very much lower. A Canadian newspaper which would use a news service supplied by the *Chicago Tribune* would probably hesitate before using a *Tribune* columnist, the offensive (to Canadians generally) character of whose writing would be much more obvious. The American columnists actually printed on a large scale in Canada are the most responsible and well balanced of the lot, and because they are recognized as Americans expressing an American viewpoint their material is judged for what it is and probably does a great deal more good than harm.

In the absence of columnists, the only periodical writing which obtains nation-wide circulation in Canada is that which appears in the national magazines, a circumstance which enormously enhances the importance of that particular medium of mass (and class) communication. The newspapers inevitably have a purely local field and strongly reflect local tastes and even local prejudices, as well as concentrating strongly on local information. They have not grown in size (number of pages) in recent years, and it is probably neither likely nor desirable that they should do so; but since the first world war the claims on their space have increased enormously, with the result that much of the information which they are expected to convey gets a very scanty treatment.



Before 1918 there was no international organization such as the League of Nations or the United Nations whose proceedings required to be chronicled, and there was a minimum of interest among Canadians in any kind of international news; the functions and operations of the Dominion Government were vastly more limited; Canada's special relations with the United States and Great Britain were less intimate and eventful; and on the other hand the amount of newspaper space devoted to such purely "entertainment" features as the comic strips and "feature writing" was far less than today, while the number and length of the purely frivolous and amusing news stories were also less. The result is that the conveyance of serious news concerning such things as the local municipal administration, the local courts, (except for sensational cases), and events in the remoter parts of the country tend to be neglected. It very frequently happens now that an event such as the death of a quite prominent person in, say, Alberta, who was of importance in the educational, artistic, political (local) and sometimes even business and financial life of his part of Canada, fails entirely to be mentioned in the press of Toronto or Vancouver or Halifax because of lack of space and a low editorial estimate of its importance. The same is true of appointments to important offices, the result of the whole situation being that Canadians tend to live in a rather watertight-compartment state of knowledge about the public affairs of provinces other than their own.

One serious consequence of the unripe state of national culture is a deficiency in the ability of Canadians to formulate judgements concerning the achievements (other than those which can be certified in a balance-sheet) of their fellow-citizens. The whole evaluation process among Canadians tends to await the result of an evaluation process taking place somewhere else. Recognition by New York or London is an almost indispensable preliminary to recognition by Canadians, in literature, science, criticism, music, and many other fields. (It is less important in painting probably because evaluation in that art is performed largely by a small number of important patrons, who have been surprisingly independent in their judgments in recent years.) The French in Canada are equally dependent on a report from Paris, and will not extend whole-hearted approval until that report is forthcoming, though as their attitude towards Paris is slightly more suspicious than that of English-language Canada towards New York and London they are perhaps more stingy with their approval than even their fellow-Canadians are. Stephen Leacock's *Literary Lapses* was first published in a small Montreal edition, and would probably have attracted little attention if it had not been discovered and reprinted by John Lane of London and by a New York firm. The migration of young academic persons from Canada to the United States is not wholly due to the immediate financial inducements; it is partly motivated by a very well



justified conviction that the sorting-out process by which better skill and brains are separated from poorer skill and brains is done much more rapidly and efficiently in the United States (a country of sublime self-confidence) than in Canada.

This is no doubt a condition which will remedy itself with the lapse of time; but it would be very beneficial to the cultural life of Canada if the remedy could be expedited by state action. There is already in Canada a well established and most admirable tradition of government encouragement to literature by the appointment of persons of literary promise to positions in the civil service. Unfortunately this is effective only with those forms of literature which can be practised as a side-line, such as poetry and the essay and criticism. It would be of the greatest possible benefit if Canada itself, instead of leaving the task to such institutions as the Guggenheim Foundation, were to provide a few years of livelihood for young and promising practitioners of the more serious and absorbing kinds of literary work such as the novel, the drama, and large-scale poetry and criticism. The mere fact that the act of evaluation would in such cases be performed in Canada would in time help to develop among Canadians a confidence that they are capable of performing it—the lack of which confidence is the chief cause of our present dependence on others. There seems to be little prospect of the funds for such work being forthcoming from private sources, so that a government grant appears to be the only way of commencing, though it is possible that once the pump was primed and the resultant stream was shown to be of good quality private beneficence might take up some of the task.

The universities, which perform this function very successfully in regard to any kind of cultural activity which involves research or teaching, cannot perform it in regard to creative work in literature or the arts. It is no part of the function of a university to aid in the production of novels, poetry or plays, of paintings or sculpture, of symphonies or songs. Yet there has been no period in human history in which it has been more difficult for a young man of genius to maintain himself during the period while his genius is developing, without having to pursue some occupation which will distract or even prevent him from following the proper bent of that genius, and there is no country in which that condition is more prevalent than it is in Canada. The process of selection of the proper recipients of aid is admittedly difficult, but it is not impossible, and even a considerable percentage of error would not weigh seriously against the immense value of the results when the aid thus extended is shown by subsequent achievement to be justified.

*(Bernard K. Sandwell, B.A., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C., formerly Assistant Professor of Economics at McGill University, Montreal, is now Editor-in-Chief of Saturday Night, Toronto.)*



## THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN CANADA

HENRY ALEXANDER

LIKE Canadian culture in general, the English language in Canada has been subjected to two main influences—British and American. Canada has been a mixing place for two linguistic streams. And, as in so many departments of our cultural life, the American influence has been predominant. Typical Canadian speech is closer to American than to British speech. This is true both of social and regional dialects. We have in Canada no single dialect comparable to so-called Standard English, the fairly uniform type of speech used by many who have attended one of the older universities in England. This is not a regional but rather a social dialect, which even in these days carries a certain amount of prestige. In this respect Canada shows less uniformity than Great Britain and resembles the United States.

On the other hand the *regional* dialects of Canada exhibit far *less* variety than those of Great Britain. It would be hard to imagine two English-speaking Canadians, even if they originated from the two most distant points of the Dominion, encountering any serious difficulty in oral communication. Thus Canada, like the United States, has greater uniformity in her regional dialects, but lacks, almost entirely, the well-established Standard speech of the British upper and middle class.

The speech of most Canadians belongs to a type of English that appears fairly consistently throughout the central portion of the North American continent. In the peripheral areas of the Atlantic seaboard and the Southern States of America variant forms are found. But around the great lakes—in both countries—no basic differences will be noticed, and this regional dialect has to a considerable extent travelled westward with the flow of population. In the maritime provinces a rather different type of speech is heard, but here too there is a general resemblance to the dialects heard on the other side of the border; the language of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick has much in common with that of Maine and maritime New England generally.

What are some of the outstanding features of Canadian English, mostly shared with the English south of the border, and often differing from British English? They may be examined under the headings of pronunciation, forms, and vocabulary. The student of language looks

at all these phenomena objectively and dispassionately; after describing them he may make some aesthetic and subjective judgments and perhaps suggest remedies for certain weaknesses that he has detected. But great caution must be used in judging questions about linguistic usage; even the best trained observers find it difficult to free themselves from the prejudices that have become attached to certain forms of language and to disregard the social prestige connected with others. The problem is not a purely linguistic one but is complicated by sociological nuances of a very delicate nature. The general tendency in the popular approach to this subject is for the individual speaker to assume that his usage is the norm. Any deviation that he vaguely associates with what he considers a lower social stratum is called vulgar; one that is connected with a superior social class is affected. These labels are unthinkingly attached without any consideration of the inherent usefulness or validity of the phenomenon in question.

In discussing pronunciation, there is, first, the so-called flat *a*. A large group of words which in Standard British English have the broad *a* are usually pronounced with a flat *a* in Canadian speech. Examples are *class*, *laugh*, *bath*, *dance*, *demand*, etc. The distinction here is quite clear-cut, and a Canadian who has a broad *a* in words of this type has brought it from Great Britain, inherited it from his British parents, or painfully acquired it by deliberate effort. In this retention of the flat *a*, as in so many other respects, Canadian English obviously belongs to Central American and differs from British Standard, though many of the British regional dialects, especially in the North and Midlands, show the same feature.

To pass judgment on the relative merits of the two *a* sounds would obviously be futile and meaningless. The two main criteria in a problem of this kind are (1) ease of communication, (2) aesthetic effect. No one would seriously maintain that it is more difficult to communicate with a flat *a* than a broad *a*, or *vice versa*, or even that a person with one type of *a* has any real difficulty in understanding a speaker with the other type. And any aesthetic and social responses to the two sounds will depend largely on subjective factors. In some communities the broad *a* will have a certain amount of prestige value; in other places it may be a social handicap. In these questions tolerance should naturally be expected, though it is not always found.

Among the consonants the feature that distinguishes Canadian English most clearly from British Standard and allies it to General American is the treatment for the *r*-sound. In Standard British speech *r* is silent at the end of a word and before a consonant. Thus the words *car* and *card* have no *r*-sound; *father* and *farther* are homonyms. In most Canadian speech there is at least some trace of an *r*-sound in these



positions. Its strength will vary in different speakers and different regions. It is never so strong a consonant as in typical Scottish dialect speech. But it rarely disappears altogether. Here again the English of Canada shows its resemblance to that of the U.S.A., where, except in the southern dialects and occasionally in the east, the *r* is pronounced in much the same way as in Canada. Unlike the feature previously discussed, the nature of the *a* vowel, this characteristic of Canadian General American speech does perhaps seem more desirable, on the ground of intelligibility, than the *r*-less British type of pronunciation. On aesthetic grounds there can be no agreement. Henry James described the strongly developed North American *r* as a morose grinding of the back of the teeth. Actually it is articulated by a curling of the tip of the tongue (retroflex *r*). Upon the ears of those who have shed this sound, it generally produces a somewhat harsh effect. But to those speakers who have preserved their *r* in all positions the *r*-less British pronunciation no doubt sounds rather effeminate. Such impressions cannot be argued about; they are completely subjective.

Finally, a more far-reaching contrast between Canadian pronunciation and Standard English is to be seen in the greater care and emphasis often given to the less important parts of a word in Canadian and North American speech generally. It is sometimes said, for instance, that an Englishman can pronounce a word like *extraordinary* in a single syllable. The North American, including the Canadian, on the other hand, often gives this word its six full syllables: *ex-tra-ord-in-a-ry*. And this tendency for Canadian English to give more weight to unstressed syllables is bound up with certain differences in stress and intonation that mark off the two forms of speech. In British English an unstressed syllable will often be slurred or even disappear, as in the example given, where Canadian English, more conscious of the written word and less affected by traditional pronunciations, will take pains to pronounce each sound. Other examples can be seen in such words as *secretary*, where the third vowel is often elided in British English, *laboratory*, where the stress may be in a different place, *library*, *temporary*, etc.

There will naturally be a difference of opinion as to the desirability of these two contrasting practices. The North American speaker will defend his more careful speech on the ground of superior intelligibility. The Standard British speaker will complain of a certain monotony in the evenly stressed and fully articulated syllables of his trans-atlantic neighbour. He will miss the light and shade that is so characteristic of Standard British speech. And even the objective observer must admit that this British tendency, if not carried too far, gives a pleasing variety to Standard English speech. Here again many of the regional dialects

of Britain resemble Canadian speech; especially in the Midlands and the North this more careful type of articulation can be heard; the unstressed vowels tend to preserve their full forms and are not slurred or lost.

Having thrown aside for a moment the role of dispassionate observer, we might mention one sound that seems to receive particularly harsh treatment in North America, sometimes to such an extent that communication is impaired. This is the sound of *t*. Several things may happen. It may be imperfectly aspirated and become almost indistinguishable from *d*. In the speech of some Canadians it is difficult to detect the difference between *writing* and *riding*, and unless the context gives a clue ambiguity may arise, e.g. in such a sentence as "I am fond of *writing* (*riding*)". Sometimes, especially between vowels, it is articulated almost like the sound of *r*. Sometimes it disappears altogether, as in the well-known local pronunciation of *Toronto* with the second *t* missing. Admittedly these developments belong to what might be called substandard speech, but they are very widespread. Any description of Canadian speech-habits must include them and anyone attempting to improve Canadian speech must recognize their existence and invent and employ appropriate techniques to check them.

Turning from sounds to forms, we find few distinctions between British and North American speech and writing. Occasionally British English has a single form where Canadian English has the choice of two. The past tense of *dive* in Britain is *dived*; in North America both *dived* and *dove* can be heard. Similarly with *got(ten)*. British speakers use the form *got*; Canadians and Americans fluctuate between *got* and *gotten*. Another slight difference in form can be seen in the British *aluminium* as contracted with the frequent Canadian *aluminum*. But for the most part Canadian, American, and British English use the same forms of words.

In vocabulary the situation is more complicated. While here, too, American influence is at work, it is perhaps not quite so potent as in the two departments already mentioned. One reason for this may be that vocabulary is affected not only by the spoken but by the written word, whereas reading does not influence pronunciation. Canadians are exposed to both British and American printed matter. They have fewer opportunities to hear British speakers. As a result some typically American terms are current in Canada, while in other cases the British terms prevail. Canadians will use *truck* rather than the British *lorry* and *candy* rather than the British *sweets*, but they prefer the British *tap* and *blinds* to the frequent American *faucet* and *shades*. *Thumbtack*, *store*, *streetcar* and *baby-carriage* are more common than the British *drawing-pin*, *shop*, *tram*, and *pram*. British *luggage* and American *baggage* seem to be about equally common. The Canadian vocabulary thus shows a com-

promise between British and American usage, with a definite preference for the latter. This is what might be expected.

One aspect of this question should be stressed before leaving the question of vocabulary. The degree of divergence between British and North American terms is often exaggerated; the relatively few expressions that differ must be measured against the overwhelmingly greater number that the two forms of English share in common; for each idea or object indicated by different words on the two sides of the Atlantic there must be thousands of instances where identical terms are used.

Finally, the linguistic dichotomy that exists in Canada is well illustrated by the complicated situation with regard to spelling. British spelling is generally taught in the schools. Some of the Western provinces are more tolerant about American spelling than Ontario, where British spelling is established in the school system. Most Canadian newspapers and periodicals, however, adopt certain features of American spelling where that differs from British usage, as, for example, *-or* as contrasted with *-our* in words such as *labor*, *honor*, etc. The university student, using a variety of Canadian, British and American textbooks, becomes accustomed to both systems, and this seems to cause no serious difficulty. In view of the fact that Canadians are exposed to American spelling daily through the newspapers and that the few reforms that have been carried out in American spelling make it slightly less illogical and chaotic than British spelling—though both systems are desperately in need of a thorough overhauling—it would not seem unreasonable to accept American spelling in our schools.

This brief discussion of spelling leads on to a consideration of the written language in Canada. There is a clear relationship between the two forms of English; sound practices in the oral use of a language lead to skill in handling the written form. Clear thinking and clear speaking are the two preliminary stages that produce good writing. Many of the defects in writing arise from a mistaken idea that the written language is quite divorced from speech—that the writer is operating in an entirely different medium and has to acquire a new set of habits.

At the professional level the written language in Canada is handled with adequate skill and effectiveness. The ordinary writer of *belles lettres* or of the magazine article does a competent job. Newspaper reporting follows to a considerable extent trends that are noticeable south of the border, although we do not find the extravagant linguistic experiments that characterise certain well-known American magazines. Certain newspapers indulge in rather too much journalistic jargon, but here, too, these American characteristics of reporting are rarely carried to extremes.

The level of non-professional writing in Canada is lower than in Britain. University instructors are continually faced with the problem



of the student who cannot write his own language correctly. They do not expect distinction in writing or stylistic graces, but they feel that they have the right to demand at least mechanical correctness. At the university level a student ought to know what is a sentence and what is not a sentence; he ought to be able to apply the basic principles of punctuation without effort; he ought to have a reasonably varied vocabulary which he can use with accuracy. These are minimum requirements that unfortunately a good many students do not meet. Any teacher who gives a university class one of the standardised vocabulary tests will quickly discover how defective student vocabulary usually is. Anyone who reads student themes will find that probably anything from one tenth to one quarter betray ignorance of the mechanics of written English. The ordinary letter of an applicant for a post is often a sadly ineffective example of his ability to write. In diagnosing the causes of this state of affairs one is inclined to stress a point that has already been made: that too little attention has been paid to the relation between the spoken and the written language. Instruction in composition in schools and universities is generally based on the reading of model essays. The teacher hopes that there will be a transfer of some of the qualities in this writing to the students' own themes, with beneficial results. It is doubtful whether this is a sound procedure. First, it is by no means certain that such a transfer takes place. Second, as many of the prose passages studied for this purpose belong to an earlier age, they are often not suitable for imitation. A new and more fruitful approach to the teaching of English composition might be found in the above-mentioned relation between good writing and good speech. Careful training in speech habits might very well come first. The more pleasing form of the spoken language thus developed should be used as the basis for effective writing. Whatever the explanation and the remedy may be, there can be no doubt as to the seriousness of the problem. We cannot be an educated nation unless we are literate. The ordinary citizen who has received a primary and a secondary education should be able to communicate his ideas and emotions effectively, and the student who has had the benefit of a higher education should perhaps occasionally show some glimpses of stylistic grace in the use of his mother tongue.

Those who are looking for an explanation of these deficiencies in the use of English often lay the blame on such pervasive influences as the radio, the moving picture, and the comic strip. It is not easy to assess the effect of these modern additions to our cultural heritage. If there were evidence that the standards of spoken and written English were definitely superior before the advent of these phenomena and that, in spite of serious attempts by the schools to inculcate good language habits, speech and writing were deteriorating, there might be some basis for this charge. But no such evidence seems to exist. As far as radio is con-



cerned, any influence it exerts on the language obviously cannot operate in one direction. The speech of announcers and performers is not uniform. Much of it is pleasing and a good model for the listener; some is painful and should be a warning. On the whole Canadian broadcasting standards are higher than those south of the border, but even in this country there is a great difference between the best and the worst. The C.B.C. official announcers are generally well chosen and well trained. Their voices are usually pleasing and their diction is correct. The official pronouncements of the C.B.C. on the question of good English for broadcasters contain sound and tolerant doctrine. On the other hand some of the announcers heard on the unofficial commercial stations are sadly in need of speech training. Their pronunciations, especially of proper names, are often fantastic; their speech-habits in general are unsound. Any influence they might have on their listeners would be definitely harmful. When we consider the large amount of radio listening that the average Canadian does, it can hardly be doubted that *some* influence must be exerted on his speech, and we ought therefore to arrange, as far as possible, that the form of speech he is exposed to is a generally acceptable one. This can obviously be done more easily in Britain, where wireless is completely state-controlled, than in a country where there is a mixture of government control and private interests. It must be hard to persuade the private operator selling his radio time to the pill manufacturer that radio has a duty to the public in setting up standards of speech.

The influence of the moving picture on speech may well be more profound because it is associated with a visual image, often of an attractive and even glamorous personality. As the great majority of moving pictures exhibited in Canada use American actors and actresses, any influence on Canadian English will be in the direction of maintaining its North American character. It is doubtful whether the relatively few British pictures or American pictures with British performers can do much to counteract this. And even many of the English moving pictures, especially the comedies of lower middle class life that are so skilfully presented, often use a type of speech that is not a particularly admirable model. Here, as in the radio, attention should obviously be paid to the kind of English offered to the audience, but as the industry is entirely privately owned, even less control can be exercised than in the case of radio.

The so-called comic strip has been held responsible for a great many pernicious tendencies in modern society. Not infrequently it is alleged to have a harmful influence on young people's language as well as their morals. There is probably little foundation for either accusation. Many of these features use orthodox English; in others the language is so extremely illiterate and grotesque that it would probably serve as a

horrible warning even to juvenile readers. As in the case of the radio and the films, it is difficult to measure the possible influence this medium has on our language. But the attention of the general public and particularly those responsible for the production of these relatively new vehicles for using language might very well be drawn to the potential dangers they contain to the speech habits of the community and, as far as is consistent with the portrayal of character and other cognate problems, the language used might follow correct and dignified patterns. For reasons already indicated such a policy is easier to implement in radio than in the other two forms of entertainment.

Is the English of Canada influenced by the speech of non-English-speaking immigrants? Is the New Canadian an important factor in deciding trends in our language? If this were so, we should expect rapid and far-reaching changes to be taking place, caused by the great influx of displaced persons in the last few years. Here we can reach a more certain judgment than with regard to the three influences previously discussed. The effect of non-English-speakers on the language is minimal. The question of social prestige enters largely into this question. The immigrant to Canada is usually anxious to identify himself with the ordinary Canadian citizen and to shed any exotic forms; he tries to make his English conform to the speech of those with whom he associates. And the native Canadian speaker, although his language may be in some respects substandard, shows no tendency to adopt a form of speech that in idiom or pronunciation betrays foreign influence. He would feel declassed in doing so, and his idea, often unjustified, of social superiority to the newcomer, preserves him from such influences. Even the influence of British types of English, imported by recent immigrants, seems to be slight or non-existent. A markedly British pronunciation survives only among the older generation who have brought it with them; their children generally modify their speech, consciously or unconsciously, to fit into their Canadian environment. There are, of course, exceptions: certain British speakers succeed in protecting the speech of their children from such influence, especially if they are sent to private schools where a British pattern of speech is used by some of the teachers. But this is rare; children usually try to conform to their surroundings and their language gradually follows the general American pattern, with perhaps some slight colouring of British habits in sounds and vocabulary. This is not due, as in the case of non-British speakers, to any lack of prestige value in British speech; it is merely an instinctive desire not to appear eccentric and different from the social group to which the speaker belongs. So far from British speech habits causing a modification of the North American pattern of Canadian speech, the tendency seems, as far as it can be detected, to be in the opposite direction; communities can be

found in which the members of the older generation use such Britishisms as *shop* and *sweets*, while the younger generation say *store* and *candy*. This trend has been detected even in so remote a region as Newfoundland, though of course in this province American influence has increased enormously since the establishment of air traffic.

Finally, let us examine some means by which the standards of the language might be improved. In doing this we must be clear as to our purpose. First, we are not trying to impose Standard English or any form of British speech on Canadian speakers. This is both an impossible and an undesirable aim. In human activities like speech and writing no strict regimentation is possible; variety is refreshing and desirable, as long as it is not sufficient to impair communication. And the amount of variety in Canadian speech is not sufficient to do this. The delicate adjustments necessary to change from one dialect in a language to another are in some ways more difficult than those involved in learning a new language and, even if such a change were desired, few people could carry it out and still fewer could teach the new form of speech. Let Canada keep her North American accent. Second, even within this orbit of North American speech we do not wish to impose uniformity; a certain amount of regional variation is pleasant to listen to; there is no more reason why we should all speak alike than we should all dress alike. Third, in any adjustment made, care must be taken not to disturb satisfactory speech habits which ensure adequate communication and replace them by others apparently at a higher level in which the speaker is less at his ease and may, in extreme cases, develop a sort of linguistic neurosis because he cannot operate successfully at this more ambitious level of language. The present writer in his explorations among the inhabitants of remote villages in the maritime provinces has often been impressed by the effective way an unsophisticated farmer or fisherman with little formal education can express himself. He uses a small stock of words to work with, but he uses them well, often with picturesque and striking effects. One cannot help comparing him with the speaker with a higher education who is often striving for a much more complicated vocabulary that he cannot adequately control and that sometimes, one feels, he will never control. Finally, the language reformer must not be too dogmatic about usage; he must remember that language is fluid, changing with human habits, inventions, and ideas. We have only to look at the words and forms condemned by purists in the past and observe how the language has disregarded these often violent attacks and still survived, to realise how dangerous it is to prophesy about the fate of linguistic developments. There is little use at this time fighting against *it's me*, or even possibly *due to* at the beginning of a sentence, or *alibi* in the sense of *excuse*; all these may seem regrettable to the purist, but it looks as if they have come



to stay. And these natural modes of expression, widespread even among the educated, are less absurd than the hyper-correct forms so often heard from the would-be-purists. How frequently one hears an indefensible construction such as *He was very kind to my wife and I*, obviously caused by over-anxiety to be correct. These, then, are a few warnings that the speech reformer must bear in mind.

What can be done to improve language habits in Canada? First, with regard to speech, the foundation of the language: good speech habits, making for clear, easy and aesthetically pleasing communication, should be stressed by teachers at all stages of education. Frequently one finds that a great deal of care has been taken with a child's speech in the primary school, but it is neglected later in the secondary school and the university. Speech training should proceed at all levels and teachers should themselves be trained in this subject and given clear ideas as to aims and methods. Very little systematic instruction in this field is available at present.

Competitions in public speaking and verse-speaking are useful. Excellent work is already done along these lines in certain centres, especially in verse-speaking. The present writer recently had the privilege of judging a verse-speaking competition open to all the schools of Ontario. The standard of achievement was extremely high and the experience was encouraging and indeed inspiring. In public speaking and debating, though these activities are practised assiduously in high schools and universities, good speech seems unfortunately to be too little stressed. Too many debating speeches in Canada are solid essays full of undigested factual information, often apparently learned by heart and recited. Manner is sacrificed to matter. In this department of speech the Canadian speaker might very well get some ideas from the visiting teams of British debaters who tour the country periodically. Their material is often thin, but they speak gracefully, know how to win an audience, communicate perfectly, and are able to think on their feet. These skills are more important for a public speaker than the mere accumulation of facts which are hurled at a long-suffering audience. One must admit regretfully that the standard of public speaking in Canada is low, not because of any lack of factual content, but because of a deficiency in the art of graceful persuasion which is an important ingredient in public speaking. More attention to the reading aloud of good poetry and prose and more practice in debating and informal speaking would help considerably to improve the standard of spoken English.

The little theatre movement also helps to promote good speech. Here, too, the fundamental importance of effective communication is often neglected owing to preoccupation with other things of less importance, tricks of acting, positions on the stage, settings and lighting. There is



frequently too much attention to mechanics, not enough to the basic human activity of speech. In this connection it is regrettable that so few Canadians have an opportunity to see and hear good professional theatre. In most communities their speech models must come from films or radio or their own dramatic activities.

Before leaving the question of the spoken language there is one further point that calls for a brief mention. It is sometimes suggested that speech training in the schools leads to what might be called a double standard, that the pupil may use one form of language in the school and another on the street and playground and perhaps in the home. This is not a serious problem. Every speaker is to some extent bilingual or even multilingual. He does not use the same type of language at a public meeting as he would in the privacy of his home. Continual adjustments are necessary. In view of the easy circulation between classes in North America it is desirable that everyone should have an opportunity to learn a type of speech that is generally acceptable at any social level. He may not use it at the moment, but at least he knows of its existence, and, if new circumstances call for it, may be able to produce it without too much effort, because of his early training. The social implications of various kinds of speech are of great importance and have been too little studied.

Turning from the spoken to the written language, we may repeat first what has already been emphasized, that good speech habits will produce good writing, especially if, as has also been suggested, the connection between the two is stressed and the approach to writing from careful speech is used. For most people a form of the spoken language free from undue colloquialisms will provide an adequate medium for written communication. Even colloquialisms have their place at a certain level in writing, for instance in fiction or the drama, or in the informal essay. But for the more ambitious writer this will not be enough. He will want to expand his verbal resources beyond the limits of ordinary conversation; he will need a more extensive vocabulary. In this respect, as has been mentioned, many Canadians are deficient. This may possibly be connected with the decline in the study of classical languages; so many of the more literary words in English are derived from Greek and Latin that ignorance of these tongues cuts one off from large groups of words or at least makes their accurate use difficult. We must admit sadly that no revival in the study of the classics seems likely. If greater vocabularies are to be built up, this must be done by careful reading and listening and serious attempts to enlarge one's stock of words. There is too little study of the dictionary. A word is not at a writer's disposal if he does not know its meaning exactly; too many words are known vaguely, and this causes many lapses in writing. An accurate and simple vocabulary is better than an extensive and inaccurate one. The remedy for this paucity of words

and lack of feeling for the exact connotation of words lies again with the teacher, often unfortunately poorly equipped himself and consequently unable to impart any enthusiasm for the use of appropriate and dignified language. At this level of more ambitious writing, perhaps even creative writing, the benefit of good models is obvious. Reading and writing go together. We cannot escape tradition. The best style strikes a balance between the old and the new, between convention and revolt, between orthodoxy and innovation. The British legacy of earlier literature gives us our inherited tradition, though much recent British literature has departed from this; the much more modern American writing shows some startling novelties. The fusion of these two influences should ultimately enable Canadian writing to develop a distinctive character.

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## LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE AU CANADA

PIERRE DAVIAULT

L'EXISTENCE de la langue française au Canada conditionne la nature et l'évolution de la culture en notre pays. Vérité qu'il serait superflu d'examiner de plus près. Demandons-nous plutôt si le français écrit ou parlé au Canada possède une valeur culturelle.

Qu'il existe un "français canadien", voilà une réalité qu'il serait vain de vouloir ou nier ou démontrer. Aucune langue n'est identique parmi tous les groupes qui la parlent. Les différences s'accroissent à mesure qu'on s'éloigne du centre de diffusion: nous subissons le sort de tous les peuples émigrés. Les Canadiens de langue anglaise n'y échappent pas; Mencken a consacré des volumes à la langue américaine; en Amérique espagnole, on ne parle pas comme en Castille. Le français du Canada ne pouvait échapper au jeu d'une loi inéluctable.

Quel est donc le français parlé au Canada? On ne saurait répondre à cette question qu'en remontant aux origines. "La langue s'explique historiquement" (Dauzat). L'erreur des jugements portés sur le français du Canada tient à une simplification excessive. En passant, relevons brièvement ces jugements, source de parti pris et de malentendus. Ils se résument, d'un côté, à l'affirmation que les Canadiens parlent "le plus pur français du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle", et, à l'opposé, qu'ils parlent un "patois". Ces affirmations simplistes restent loin de la vérité.

Afin d'arriver rapidement à une conclusion, bornons-nous à quelques distinctions: 1. la langue populaire traditionnelle; 2. l'apport anglais; 3. la langue écrite. Même si nous voulions serrer le sujet de plus près, par exemple examiner les régionalismes, nous ne pourrions donner que des indications assez vagues, vu l'absence de matériaux dignes de foi. En effet, on n'a jamais organisé, au Canada, l'étude méthodique des parlers populaires. Voilà le premier point à souligner. On a fait couler beaucoup d'encre à propos du "curieux français du Canada". A vrai dire, ce français, peu de gens le connaissent à peu près; personne ne le connaît à fond.

### I

#### LA LANGUE POPULAIRE TRADITIONNELLE

L'état linguistique que nous avons appelé "langue populaire traditionnelle"

nelle" est celui qui, dans son fond, a été apporté de France au Canada. Que ce parler ne soit pas "le plus pur français du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle" ni un patois, les gens réfléchis s'en doutent. Encore faut-il le démontrer.

*Le "patois canadien-français"*

Un patois n'est pas une langue dégénérée. C'est, selon Darmesteter, un "parler dialectal, ordinairement privé de culture littéraire". Et un dialecte du français est l'une des formes qu'a prises le latin parlé en Gaule. Songeons que, pas plus qu'une autre langue, le français ne s'est constitué par l'effort conscient d'un groupe de personnes.

"Au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, écrit Meillet (*les Langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*), le français, l'italien, l'espagnol étaient des langues différentes, bien que, en France, en Italie, en Espagne, on n'ait jamais cessé de vouloir parler latin et de croire qu'on parlait latin". Brunot écrit même (*Histoire de la langue française*): "On ne doit pas dire que le français est né du latin, c'est encore du latin".

Les parlers de la *Romania* se sont formés par la décomposition graduelle du latin populaire (celui des marchands, des soldats et des esclaves) sous l'action des idiomes nationaux ou des idiomes introduits à la suite des invasions barbares: c'était le régime du *bilinguisme*. La transformation se produisait inconsciemment, sans aucune uniformité, sans obéir à aucune direction, en des territoires privés de communications les uns avec les autres. En outre, les parlers nationaux différaient selon la région. Il n'y eut pas une langue uniforme, mais des patois et des dialectes.

Les termes *dialecte* et *patois* ne sont pas synonymes. Si le latin a subi des transformations fort localisées, il obéissait, dans une aire donnée, à des influences identiques. Les patois pouvaient différer entre villages, ils n'en avaient pas moins une proche parenté, dans un territoire assez étendu, de sorte qu'ils constituaient, dans ce territoire, un ensemble qui était un dialecte. Chaque dialecte avait sa vie propre, ses règles, sa littérature. Un dialecte du Nord, le *francien*, finit par dominer les autres mais ce ne fut que pour des raisons politiques.

Compte tenu de ces brèves définitions, comment pourrait-on penser qu'il existe un patois au Canada? Pour qu'il y eût patois, il faudrait que les premiers colons fussent tous originaires d'un même coin de France d'où ils auraient apporté leur parler régional. Il n'en a rien été. Ou bien, il faudrait que le patois fût né après l'émigration. Or, cette émigration eut lieu à une époque où une telle création folklorique n'était plus possible. (Littré note que, non seulement les dialectes et les patois ne sont pas nés d'un démembrement d'une langue française préexistante, mais, à vrai dire, ils sont antérieurs à la langue française.) Dialectes et patois naquirent lors du morcellement du latin. Par la suite, surtout à partir du 15<sup>e</sup> siècle, quand le français s'imposa, quand on eut conscience de parler une



langue nouvelle, il y eut regroupement plutôt que morcellement. Depuis ce temps, dialectes et patois sont en régression. A l'époque de la colonisation de la Nouvelle-France, aucune loi linguistique ne permettait la formation d'un dialecte ou d'un patois.

Les colons venaient de tous les coins du royaume. Il n'est pas exact, comme on l'a trop dit, que nous descendons des Normands. Fussions-nous descendus des Normands, nous parlerions le dialecte normand, que l'Angleterre a longtemps parlé,—qu'elle parle encore, en un certain sens, — à la suite de Guillaume le conquérant. La statistique révèle que, de 1608 à 1700, sur 5,000 colons, il n'y avait que 950 Normands: pas même le cinquième. Les autres venaient de régions nombreuses et diverses. Du point de vue linguistique, une telle diversité devait avoir des résultats intéressants. Supposé qu'ils eussent parlé dialecte ou patois avant leur départ de France, des gens partis de points si différents, et confondus chez nous (c'était déjà le *melting pot*), n'auraient pu conserver leurs parlers sans réédifier la tour de Babel à Québec, Montréal et Trois-Rivières. Il leur fallait adopter un langage commun, qui ne pouvait être, nous l'allons voir, que le français proprement dit, ou plutôt une variété de français. Mais quelle variété de français?

#### *Le français que nous parlons*

Réfutons ici le second jugement porté sur notre langue, selon lequel nous parlerions "le plus pur français du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle". Pense-t-on vraiment que le premier paysan venu s'exprime comme Racine ou Bossuet? Cependant, au début du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle, le père Charlevoix écrit que "nulle part on ne parle plus purement le français qu'en nouvelle France". Parole qui inspire à Victor Barbeau (*le Ramage de mon pays*) ces réflexions:

"A cette époque (. . .) le Canada est une véritable province française (. . .) Une province, au surplus, qui offre sur les autres cet avantage d'avoir adouci, en les mêlant, les particularités de langage qui distinguaient encore très nettement les provinces de France. Phénomène qui en étonnera plusieurs, mais qui n'en est pas moins vrai, le français s'est uniformisé beaucoup plus rapidement en Amérique qu'en Europe".

Uniformisation qui tenait au fait capital que nous avons signalé, c'est-à-dire à la nécessité d'adopter une langue commune. Mais rendons-nous bien compte de l'état de cette langue.

Le francien, ou français, était à l'origine le dialecte du roi de France, suzerain d'abord théorique, confiné dans l'Ile-de-France et l'Orléanais. Ce n'est qu'au début du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle que son autorité prit quelque ampleur; que, par le fait même, le français commença à acquérir un certain prestige à son titre de langue de la cour. "C'est seulement à partir du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle que les autres dialectes furent plus ou moins réduits à l'état de patois" (E

Bourciez, *Eléments de linguistique romane*). Le français n'eut une existence officielle qu'à partir de l'édit de Villers-Cotterets (1539), par lequel François I<sup>er</sup> substituait le français au latin dans les acts de chancellerie. La diffusion restait lente. Seuls parlaient français, dans les provinces voisines de Paris, les écrivains, les nobles, les bourgeois. En 1790, la Convention fit préparer un rapport d'où il ressortait que, sur 25 millions d'habitants, on en comptait au moins six millions qui ignoraient tout à fait le français, un nombre égal qui le connaissaient trop peu pour le parler couramment et trois millions au plus en état de s'en servir correctement et beaucoup moins sachant l'écrire. Il ne se généralisa qu'au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, grâce au chemin de fer, au service militaire, à l'instruction obligatoire. Mais encore maintenant, "en France même, combien de gens entendent assez bien le français mais, en réalité, ne le parlent pour ainsi dire jamais". (Pierre Groult, *la Formation des langues romanes*).

"Notre langue commune, telle qu'elle a été fixée au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, est la langue de la bourgeoisie parisienne, de la ville; la Cour l'a acceptée, puis la province" (Vendryès, *le Langage*).

Or, premier fait à souligner, les colons de la Nouvelle-France venaient de la province et non de la capitale. Deuxième fait à retenir, c'étaient de petites gens, cultivateurs ou artisans, qui parlaient la langue de leur milieu. "On a des données, écrit Meillet, sur la langue populaire qui se parlait aux portes de Paris au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle; elle différait profondément de la langue littéraire". Justement, et c'est le troisième point à mettre en lumière, ces colons venaient surtout des provinces du centre, les plus rapprochées de Paris, celles où, dès leur époque, le français avait commencé de pénétrer et où, d'ailleurs, les dialectes étaient proches parents du français.

La langue commune que les colons adoptèrent fut donc un français authentique, "le plus national qui fût", mais un français populaire. "Notre langue, dont l'Ile-de-France fut le berceau, était à l'origine une langue de cultivateurs (. . .) Langue de paysans, le français fut aussi de bonne heure une langue d'artisans" (Dauzat, *le Génie de la langue française*). C'est seulement en ce sens, et c'est déjà fort beau, qu'on peut parler de "pur français du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle", implanté au Canada.

Ce français alla s'épurant, à cause d'un autre phénomène qu'on n'a jamais mis en lumière. On sait que, dès les temps héroïques de la colonie, s'organisa un bon enseignement pour les jeunes filles,—si l'instruction des garçons restait fort négligée,—par les soins des Ursulines ou de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame. Au début du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle, les voyageurs notaient l'éducation des Canadiennes, étonnante pour des personnes de leur condition et de leur époque. Au couvent, les jeunes filles apprenaient le "bon français" et elles exerçaient, dans ce domaine, une influence bienfaisante.

Tel est l'élément essentiel du français parlé au Canada. Tel est notre français traditionnel, qui nous rattache à la patrie linguistique française. Français authentique, français savoureux, mais, il faut y insister, français populaire et français parlé.

### *L'évolution du français au Canada*

Ce serait naïveté de penser que les colons de la Nouvelle-France ont, d'emblée, adopté un langage fixé une fois pour toutes. Il serait difficile, et d'ailleurs oiseux, de vouloir déterminer les étapes de cette formation. Retenons seulement que cette langue se forma par évolution, et non par révolution, évolution qui ne s'est jamais arrêtée. Dire que les colons parlaient français, c'est poser une affirmation assez vide de sens, puisque "ce que nous appelons le français, n'existe dans le langage parlé d'aucun être humain" (Vendryès). Examinons les particularités qui firent de ce langage le "français canadien". Saisissons ce "français canadien" dans son état actuel, en le dégageant, pour l'instant, des influences subies après la fin du régime français.

### *Les survivances dialectales*

Si les dialectes ont disparu, ils ont laissé des traces. Le dialecte de chaque groupe de colons a sauvé, de son naufrage au Canada, des épaves dont il a enrichi le fonds commun. Une foule de provincialismes ont donc, dès le départ, élargi le champ linguistique. *Créature* désignant une femme; *blonde* et *cavalier* désignant les amoureux, voilà des termes dialectaux, et aussi *berlander*, *bacul*, *godendard*, *jaspiner*, *gosser*, *garrocher*, *trâlée*, *siler*, *flauber*, *pend'oreilles*, *champlure*, *chambranler*, *charroyage*, *cenellier*, *fruitages*, *maldonne*, *endurance*, *mal-en-train*, etc.

### *Les termes marins*

La navigation jouait un grand rôle dans la vie des colons. Les vocables de la mer entrèrent ainsi dans la langue commune pour désigner des aspects de la vie qui n'ont rien de maritime. Il en fut de même dans toutes les colonies (qui, ne l'oublions pas, relevaient du ministère de la Marine). Le Canadien *traverse* d'un *bord* de la rue à l'autre. Il *aborde* quelqu'un pour lui parler, quand cette personne est *accostable*. Ou bien, il *vire de bord*. *Bordée* (de neige) est de même origine, ainsi que *embardée*, *amarrier* (un cheval) et *touer* (une auto).

### *Les archaïsmes*

Le français du Canada allait se particulariser davantage, obéissant à deux tendances opposées: l'archaïsme et le néologisme, qui en constituent les caractères les plus marquants. Il n'en perdait pas pour autant son authenticité.



Le français, apporté de ce côté-ci de l'Atlantique, subissait, en France, des influences qui ne se faisaient sentir ici qu'à retardement. Le français du Canada, en particulier, a échappé à l'immense remuement linguistique qui a suivi la Révolution française.

*Acceptance, accoutumance, nuisance* sont archaïques, comme *doutance, surmené, dégaine* et *fiable*. Certains de ces mots, notamment *fiable*, n'ont pas d'équivalent exact dans la langue actuelle. La survivance en est donc utile.

### *Les canadianismes*

Repliés sur eux-mêmes, en un pays si différent de la contrée d'origine, —pays où avaient pris naissance des coutumes et des institutions nouvelles,—les Canadiens ont créé des mots ou détourné de leur sens des mots existants au point d'en faire des vocables nouveaux. Le terroir a ainsi donné naissance à des vocables gonflés de la sève française. Ce vocabulaire canadien est fort abondant.

Cette néologie est le plus ferme soutien de notre langue. Une langue n'est vivante que si la création l'alimente; les mots s'usent vite. Se produisant dans les couches profondes de la population et en exprimant ce qu'elles ont de plus particularisé, cette création doit forcément, au Canada, différer de celle qui surgit en France.

Signalons, ici, certains canadianismes particulièrement expressifs, comme *poudrerie* (de neige), *sucrerie* (d'érable), *tuque*, *chantier* (de bûcherons), *de valeur*, *jarnigoine*, *achalant*, *magasiner*, *bataclan*, *brunante*, *trouvaille*, *clair d'étoiles*, *délâbre*.

Il y aurait lieu de souligner certains aspects de cette création linguistique dans le domaine des noms de personnes, des noms de lieux, des noms de plantes ou d'animaux.

Les familles canadiennes-françaises n'ont pas souvent gardé le nom patronymique qu'elles avaient avant de quitter la France. Un grand nombre d'entre elles descendent de soldats, établis sur des terres, leur temps de service révolu. Or, dans les régiments de ce temps-là, il n'était pas de soldat ni de bas-officier qui n'eût un sobriquet, lequel, parmi la troupe, faisait oublier le nom de famille. D'habitude, les militaires gardaient, en rentrant dans la vie civile, le nom sous lequel ils avaient commencé leur vie d'homme. Ces sobriquets restent, depuis, pour désigner maintes familles canadiennes. Ils relatent des liens de parenté, comme *Neveu*, *Legendre*, *Beaufis*. Ils soulignent une particularité corporelle: *Lebrun*, *Lenoir*, *Legros*, *Legrand*, *Brunet*. Ils évoquent un métier ou un état: *Boucher*, *Boulanger*, *Masson*, *Chartier*. Ils rappellent une qualité ou un défaut: *Courtois*, *Bellehumeur*, *Lajoie*. Ou bien le sobriquet tient à l'origine: *Lebreton*, *Normand*, *Parisien*, *Picard*. Et il y a des *Lafleur*, des *Labelle*, des *Lapensée*. D'autre part, la population canadienne de langue



française est issue d'un nombre restreint de familles. Pour s'y reconnaître, on commençait par ajouter un surnom au moyen de la particule "dit", puis on laissait tomber le nom patronymique, que gardaient certains membres de la famille. Il faut encore tenir compte de la grande fantaisie qui régnait dans l'orthographe: Dion, Dionne, Guyon, Guyonne viennent de la même souche.

La vigueur dynamique du français au Canada se manifeste également dans les noms de lieux. Il y a d'abord les noms de personnages qui intéressent l'histoire du Canada: *Valcartier, Roberval, Richelieu, Varennes, Berthier*. Mais surtout la formation populaire et spontanée: *Beauport, Bellechasse, Belœil, les Aulnaies, les Bergeronnes* (du nom des oiseaux nombreux en ces parages), *le Bic* (déformation du mot *pic*), *Cabano* (lac entouré de collines qui lui donnent l'apparence d'un cabanon), *Echafaud aux Basques, les Eboulements, la Tuque, Pintendre* (nom ironique d'un lieu où les colons vivaient de "pain dur"), *Grondines* (à cause de cascades qui grondent). Enfin, mentionnons les noms de lieux indiens auxquels nous avons donné une consonance française: *Etchemin, Gaspésie, Betsiamis, Mascouche, Matane, Batiscan, l'Achigan*.

Mis en présence de plantes nouvelles, les colons ont créé un vocabulaire botanique d'une grande richesse.

"Des hommes sans aucune initiation scientifique . . . deviennent sans le savoir et sans le vouloir, des pionniers de la science (. . .) Cette systématique populaire, qui est peut-être ce qu'il y a de plus franchement autochtone dans tout notre folklore canadien, ne s'est pas perdue . . . Elle a peu à envier à la systématique purement scientifique" (frère Marie-Victorin, *la Flore laurentienne*).

Les mêmes remarques s'imposeraient à propos des noms de bêtes sauvages et de poissons. Signalons seulement que ce n'est que dans le domaine de cette onomastique, et dans la toponymie, que les dialectes indiens ont exercé une influence d'une certaine importance sur le français au Canada.

### *L'accent et la prononciation*

Il y a un accent canadien qui tient aux causes historiques que nous avons examinées. Campagnards, les colons de la Nouvelle-France avaient un accent de la campagne. Cet accent, qui rappelle celui de certaines provinces de France, n'est cependant d'aucune en particulier. "Il existe, au nord de la Loire, une sorte de prononciation moyenne (. . .) Les accents canadiens font partie de ces accents dont la somme constitue l'accent français" (Charles Bruneau). Il faudrait également noter l'effet du climat. Le parler canadien a un ton monocorde, lourd et nasalisé qui le différencie des accents de France. La prononciation est gutturale, l'articulation insuf-

fisante, l'intonation monotone et sans couleur. Les mêmes particularités distinguent l'accent anglo-canadien ou américain de l'accent anglais.

Quant à la prononciation, notons-en très brièvement les particularités les plus saillantes. D'abord, l'affaiblissement de *t* et *d* surtout dans les groupes *ti* et *di*, qui donne presque *tz* et *dz*. Ensuite, l'ouverture exagérée du groupe *ai*, dont la prononciation, au lieu de se rapprocher de *é* comme en France, est très voisine de *ê*. Notre *a* aboutit presque à *o*. Les nasales sont très fermées: *maman* se prononce à peu près *mamain*.

Notre façon de prononcer le groupe *oi* est remarquable. *Oi* devient *oué* dans *moi*, *toi*, *poison*, *poisson*, *noyer*, etc. (On a dit *moué* en France jusqu'à la Révolution française; Louis-Philippe disait encore *le roué*.) Mais il y aurait lieu, ici, de relever des différences régionales: on ne prononce pas, en Acadie, comme dans Québec (où, encore, faudrait-il mettre à part la Gaspésie et les îles de la Madeleine).

La prononciation populaire canadienne reste dans la tradition non déviée du français. C'est ainsi que *oi* devient *et* (dans *fret*, *étret*, *dret*, *accère*, *parouèsse*, etc.), que *e* se prononce *a* (dans *serge*, *ferme*, etc.); *è* se dit *é* (dans *père*, *mère*, etc.).

Cet archaïsme se remarque dans le souci d'atténuer le choc des consonnes. Brunot fait la remarque que le français possédait à l'origine des "modulations aujourd'hui perdues (. . .) Les groupes de consonnes les plus rudes du latin avaient été singulièrement réduites: *bst* (*abstinere*), *xlc* (*excludere*), *xt* (*extinguere*), etc., avaient disparu et ne devaient se réintroduire que plus tard par l'action savante". Langue populaire, ayant échappé à cette "action savante", le "français canadien" devait garder "le juste équilibre des voyelles et des consonnes". Le Canadien dira donc, comme dans la vieille langue: *escandale*, *estalue*, *esquelette*. Du reste, la langue académique conserve de ces formations: *espèce*, *escabeau*, *escalier*, *espérer*, *esprit*, *estomac*, etc. Et même *étude*, *étang*, *épée*, *épars*, mots qui ont laissé tomber l's initial. Le même instinct porte à transposer des lettres afin de faciliter la prononciation: *escousse* (secousse), *ermise* (remise, qui devient même *ormise*). Ou bien, on intercale un *e* pour éviter les rencontres de consonnes: *suquier* (sucrier), *beluet* (bluet), *tabelier* (tablier). Ou l'on supprime une consonne: *enque* (encre), *onque* (oncle), *tringue* (tringle).

Dans un ouvrage qui date de 1712 et que Marcel Cohen a réédité en 1947, Gile Vaudelin indique qu'au début du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle on avait des prononciations qui se sont conservées au Canada. Il perdait *l* dans la prononciation courante. On disait: *i fait*, *i peut*. Au pluriel, devant voyelle, *i* devenait *iz*, *iz ont*; mais *ii* devant consonne. *Notre*, *votre* se prononçaient sans *r*, *not père*, *vot évêque*. Les démonstratifs *cet* et *cette* n'avaient pas d'*e*: *st alphabet*, *ste tristesse*. Voilà pour la prononciation, archaïque mais bonne. "Le peuple ne peut mal prononcer."

## II

## L'APPORT ANGLAIS

Du point de vue linguistique, la conquête anglaise de 1759-1760, si elle devait avoir de profondes conséquences à longue échéance, n'eut guère de résultat immédiat sur le parler populaire. Voilà le fait capital qu'il faut mettre en lumière pour comprendre la survivance de la langue française au Canada, ce qu'on a appelé, avec emphase d'ailleurs, le "miracle canadien". Terme impropre à tous égards, car, ainsi que nous allons le voir, la survivance du français s'explique par des causes très compréhensibles.

Le Canadien restait rural. Replié sur lui-même dans ses villages, ses "seigneuries", ses "rangs" du Saint-Laurent et du Richelieu, il continuait sa vie d'autrefois. Les nouveaux venus ne pénétraient pas chez lui. Cet isolement demeure, du reste, à peu près entier en bien des coins de la province de Québec, où la venue d'un "Anglais" reste un événement et l'Anglais lui-même, un phénomène. Aucune influence extérieure ne pouvait s'exercer sur le parler que le Canadien s'était constitué.

*Le parler populaire des villes*

Deux réserves s'imposent. Ce qui restait de l'aristocratie seigneuriale, militaire ou commerçante était en contact avec les nouveaux maîtres. Pour les "seigneurs", l'anglicisation fut rapide, parce qu'elle tenait au désir de "faire des affaires" et, aussi, de frayer dans les nouveaux milieux élégants. D'autre part, bien que l'administration employât le français dans ses relations avec les administrés, la traduction faisait déjà sentir ses effets.

L'époque qui suivit la conquête anglaise fut une période de grande expansion du français en un certain domaine. Traitants et explorateurs amenaient dans les Prairies un nombreux personnel de guides, commis, *canoteurs* canadiens, dont bon nombre se fixaient là-bas. L'Ouest fut en grande partie français jusqu'au troisième quart du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les Illinois et leur capitale Saint-Paul furent français. D'immenses caravanes en portaient pour descendre jusqu'au Mexique. Les noms français qui constellent la carte de ces régions gardent le souvenir de ce mouvement dont l'histoire officielle ne tient pas compte.

Vinrent l'industrialisation, vers la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, et la formation véritable des villes. Les ruraux français devinrent en grand nombre prolétaires citadins, employés dans des usines appartenant à des anglophones, travaillant selon des techniques apprises d'anglophones, se servant d'outils et de machines fabriqués et nommés par des anglophones. Procédés, techniques, méthodes, outils, machines, tout portait des appellations anglaises. Personne ne songeait à les désigner en français. Cela atteignit le paroxysme avec la diffusion de l'auto. La langue professionnelle des



ouvriers est anglaise (sauf dans les métiers traditionnels peu mécanisés). La vogue des sports exerça une influence analogue. Ce fut la naissance du parler populaire des villes.

Dans son état actuel, ce langage, hybride, garde l'armature du "français canadien" pour les rapports courants de la vie, sauf parmi les groupes français de certaines régions à majorité anglaise: on y parle, dans les couches les moins cultivées, un mélange de français et d'anglais qui mérite souvent le nom de jargon.

Le parler prolétarien des villes se distingue du "français canadien" d'une autre façon. Parmi cette partie de la population, ce langage s'est encanaillé. La prononciation est déformée, dans le sens de la vulgarité; la sobriété archaïque se transforme souvent en un magma sans consistance, dont on a des exemples déplorables dans certaines émissions radiophoniques qui, sous prétexte de reproduire le langage populaire, s'inspirent de la déformation de ce langage.

La campagne est peu touchée par cette transformation. Il y a donc coupure entre le parler populaire des villes et celui des campagnes; le premier, dégénéré, avili, jargonnant, vidé en grande partie de sa force d'expression; le second, dynamique, linguistiquement pur ou à peu près, resté dans la ligne de son évolution.

#### *Le français des classes moyennes*

L'anglicisme touche davantage au vocabulaire intime parmi les classes sociales plus élevées, où le vocabulaire professionnel (industrie, commerce, finance) est, là aussi, à peu près entièrement anglais.

Nous sommes en présence d'une nouvelle variété de français, de formation assez récente. Et voici les éléments de ce parler, pour résumer: forte proportion du langage populaire traditionnel, apport du "français de Paris" à un degré qui varie selon la culture de chacun, beaucoup de démarquage de l'anglais. Éléments disparates, sans lien entre eux, qui n'ont pas trouvé leur point d'équilibre. Cette langue reste en un devenir qui aboutira on ne sait où. En somme, elle est le point de rencontre du français canadien et de l'apport anglais. C'est donc le lieu d'étudier la question de l'anglicisme.

#### *L'anglicisme*

Question qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre. La plupart des ouvrages à prétentions linguistiques publiés au Canada français n'avaient d'autre but que de pourchasser l'anglicisme. (Il ne faut pas ranger dans cette catégorie les ouvrages destinés à élucider des problèmes de traduction, comme ceux de Gérin, Fradet, Lorrain, entre autres.) Inspirés par un purisme étroit et primaire, ces travaux sont en général superficiels, mal documentés, dénotant une complète incompréhension du problème.



La question se pose autrement. L'emprunt à une langue étrangère est légitime, utile, nécessaire. C'est un des procédés de la formation des langues. A condition qu'il réponde à un besoin: c'est le seul critère à retenir. L'anglicisation de nos institutions était indispensable. Adaptant des termes du français, parfois archaïques, nous avons créé un lexique parfaitement légitime. *Conseil privé, bref, discours du trône, sergent d'armes*, etc., voilà autant de termes inconnus dans la France actuelle mais dont nous ne saurions nous passer. Le vocabulaire pénal n'est pas celui de la France actuelle non plus, parce que notre code pénal est anglais. Dans maints domaines, en somme, il existe un noyau irréductible de termes étrangers. Des puristes ont fait des efforts inouïs pour inventer des vocabulaires qui ne seraient pas compris en France plus que chez nous. N'est-il pas puéril de vouloir appeler *blé filamenté* le "Shredded wheat", *paume au filet* le tennis et *gouret* le hockey? On en vient à chasser un anglicisme par un autre anglicisme; ainse, ce *plume-réservoir* qu'on substitue à *plume-fontaine*.

L'emprunt ridicule est celui qui déplace inutilement un vocable indigène: *fun, pushing, prospect* se substituant à plaisir, entregent, perspective; *socket, starter et brake* mis à la place de douille, démarreur ou frein.

Plus dangereux encore sont les mots déguisés dont est encombré le français des classes moyennes au Canada: *acter* (jouer), *order* (commander), *officier rapporteur* (directeur du scrutin), etc. Plus nocif encore, le danger des vocables qui, empruntés par l'anglais au français, nous reviennent avec des acceptions purement anglaises. Parce que le mot *application* existe déjà en français, mais avec des sens différents de ceux qu'y a ajoutés l'anglais, on l'emploie avec l'acception de *demande, d'offre de services*. La gamme de ces faux emplois est presque infinie: *affecter* (pour influencer), *anxieux* (désireux), *appartement* (pièce), *appointment* (rendez-vous), *audience* (auditoire), On pourrait parcourir l'alphabet jusqu'à *versatile* (souple), en passant par *balance* (solde), *corporation* (municipalité ou société commerciale), *département* (service, ou rayon), *fret* (marchandises), *gérant* (directeur), *ignorer* (négliger), *minutes* (procès-verbal), *opportunité* (occasion), *passager* (voyageur), *social* (mondain), etc.

Ces emplois à contresens chambardent l'édifice sémantique du français au Canada. On en vient à écrire en français des textes que les Français des autres parties du monde ne comprennent pas ou comprennent à rebours. A ce sujet, il faudrait rattacher celui des traductions littérales, c'est-à-dire des traductions qui emploient l'équivalent le plus usuel d'un vocable anglais pour rendre des acceptions que n'a pas cet équivalent. *Enregistrer* est français mais ne se dit pas d'une lettre. On emploie *particulier* pour "soigneux"; *maison de pension* pour "pension"; *sucre brun* pour "cassonade"; *passer des remarques* pour "faire des remarques".

Ces faiblesses du parler de la classe moyenne tiennent d'abord à l'ignorance, puis à la crainte de s'attirer l'accusation de snobisme, ou, inversement, à un snobisme de mauvais aloi. Dans une partie de notre population, il est de mauvais ton de parler correctement en français: on passe alors pour pédant, "francisson", détraqué. Ailleurs, on croit se décrasser en délaissant le français archaïsant et provincial pour adopter, non pas le français correct, mais le jargon anglicisant. L'anglicisme est mélange d'ignorance, de respect humain, de débraillé, de mauvais goût.

C'est le lieu de noter, pour éviter tout malentendu, que l'auteur de ces lignes n'est pas de ceux qui, pour défendre la pureté du français, condamnent le "bilinguisme" et dénoncent l'enseignement de l'anglais. Il croit, au contraire, que l'enseignement de l'anglais est nécessaire pour diverses raisons et, de son point de vue particulier, précisément pour assurer la pureté du français, parce que la connaissance suffisante de l'anglais met en garde contre les mots déguisés, les "faux amis", les traductions littérales.

### III

#### LA LANGUE ÉCRITE

Le linguiste Marcel Cohen écrit (*Histoire d'une langue: le français*): "Il ne s'est pas constitué de français canadien cultivé; c'est le français de France qui sert de langue de culture".

A l'école, nous étudions le français dans les auteurs de France. Nous continuons par la suite à lire les écrivains de France et nombreux sont ceux qui vont parfaire leurs études en France. L'idéal de la langue écrite est donc le français le plus littéraire et le plus récent.

Cet idéal, un certain nombre d'entre nous l'atteignent. Nous pourrions citer des écrivains canadiens, en très petit nombre il est vrai, dont les ouvrages, du point de vue de la langue en tout cas, soutiennent la comparaison avec ceux des bons écrivains de France, sinon des très grands. Ne mentionnons ici que M. Léon Gérin. Notons également que, parmi les journalistes ou écrivains de la génération actuelle, la proportion de ceux qui écrivent en un français acceptable est plus considérable qu'autrefois.

Cependant, nous ne saurions saisir l'état de la langue écrite chez quelques chefs de file. La langue de la majorité de nos écrivains ou de nos journalistes est pauvre, incolore, souvent incorrecte. Elle souffre, à des degrés divers, des maux qui affligent la langue parlée. L'ambiance est telle que, même chez ceux qui ignorent l'anglais, la déformation dans le sens de l'anglicisme se fait sentir.

La langue écrite, il faudrait l'étudier dans les journaux ou à la radio. On relèverait des phrases de cette farine:

“On suivra la même procédure que l’an dernier à une *exception*. . . Le *champ* du commerce extérieur . . . Les territoires *perdus* aux Coréens. . .”

L’incorrection se remarque surtout dans les pages sportives et financières des journaux, puisque ce sont les domaines où l’anglicisme règne en maître au pays:

“Le premier club *dans le classement* jouera contre le quatrième. . . Les Mercs *annulèrent* contre les Monarchs. . . Les Chats *possédèrent un faible avantage* du jeu. . . Le volume des transactions minimales aujourd’hui au cours des transactions de bonne heure sur le *curb* de Montréal mais la liste principale était généralement tranquillement plus basse. . .”

C’est l’emploi du verbe, charnière de la phrase, qui est surtout fautif. On abuse du passif et du passé simple, ou l’on se sert du participe à contretemps, parce qu’on s’inspire de la syntaxe anglaise:

“Les échevins de Toronto se sont exprimés comme croyant que. . . Cette cécité de nuit se guérirait en mangeant du foie. . . A l’aurore de l’histoire, les Ibériens sont trouvés occupant le bassin de la Méditerranée. . . La loi telle qu’amendée. . . Le budget, tel que prévu. . .”

Signalons encore l’abus de l’épithète: “L’ambassadeur canadien en Grèce. . . Une politique commerciale impériale importante. . .” Abus aussi de l’article: “M. X., un médecin à Montréal. . . *Pandore*, un film de XXX”. Ou encore, du substantif abstrait: “Il faudrait des milliers de dollars de travaux d’inspection en vue de la détermination de l’opportunité de la reconstruction du canal de Chambly”.

Une mise en garde s’impose. Il ne faudrait pas conclure de cette accumulation de fautes (du reste, authentiques), réalisée aux fins du raisonnement, que la majorité des textes publiés au Canada sont écrits uniformément en une langue aussi incorrecte. D’autre part, loin de dégénérer, le français écrit au Canada s’améliore sans cesse, bien que de façon insuffisante. La langue écrite bénéficie de la généralisation et de l’approfondissement de la culture qui se manifestent dans tous les domaines de la vie intellectuelle au Canada français depuis quelques années.

Il faut noter que la confusion dans l’emploi des deux langues de culture nuit à l’une et à l’autre. Pourtant, la connaissance de l’anglais n’est pas tellement répandue parmi ceux qui écrivent en français. (Il est remarquable, soit dit par parenthèse, que nos meilleurs écrivains en français sont très souvent ceux qui connaissent le mieux l’anglais. Citons de nouveau M. Gérin. Et aussi Olivar Asselin.) Les tournures anglaises se transmettent par l’intermédiaire de la traduction, sujet qu’il importe d’étudier ici.



*La traduction*

La traduction est la grande cause de la désintégration de la langue au Canada.

“L’anglais corrompt à la fois notre syntaxe et notre vocabulaire. Il nous arrive de construire nos phrases avec des matériaux français sur une charpente anglaise (. . .) Le mal est si profond que les Canadiens français qui ignorent l’anglais n’en font pas moins des anglicismes (. . .) Ils sont victimes de la contagion. L’anglicisme syntaxique est sans doute le plus grave. . .” (Léon Lorrain, *les Etrangers dans la Cité*).

La pâture intellectuelle du Canadien moyen est faite, dans une très large proportion, de traduction. Nos journaux reçoivent les dépêches d’agences en anglais; en anglais aussi le texte des annonces. Nos postes de t.s.f. nous serinent de la traduction à la journée. Orateurs politiques ou sacrés; professeurs, érudits, chercheurs, commerçants ou industriels, avocats ou ouvriers spécialisés, médecins ou ingénieurs, tous, partout et toujours, nous nous servons de textes anglais que nous traduisons ou qu’on traduit à notre intention. La traduction s’infiltré partout, commande chaque geste de notre vie. Il n’est pas jusqu’à la ménagère qui ne demande une boîte de conserves dont elle a lu la description dans une réclame traduite; il n’est pas jusqu’au moribond qui ne prononce dans un souffle le nom d’un remède que lui apprend un traducteur. Voilà la grande influence qui agit sur notre langue, combien plus efficace que celle du livre ou de la revue, en un pays où paraissent peu livres ou de revues dignes d’être lus. La langue, surtout la langue écrite, sera, dans une large mesure et dans l’état actuel des choses, ce que sera la traduction. “Que nous le voulions ou non, nous sommes un peuple de traducteurs” (Léon Lorrain).

Or, que nous acceptions les textes que nous présentent une bonne partie des traducteurs,—des journaux et du commerce, surtout,—voilà qui est inquiétant.

Ce sont les traducteurs, professionnels ou d’occasion, qui créent la plupart des anglicismes dont notre langue est infestée. Ce sont les traducteurs qui ont fait ces anglicismes insidieux se présentant sous les dehors d’expressions légitimes: *aviseur légal, en acompte, les mérites d’une cause, sous-officier rapporteur, chanteuse versatile*. Posons donc cet axiome: l’anglicisme part d’en haut. Et cet autre: au Canada, si l’on excepte le parler populaire traditionnel, les questions de langue sont avant tout des questions de traduction. Notre langue écrite se transforme moins par la création originale que par la transposition de vocables anglais.

La plus grande mésaventure qui soit arrivée à la langue française au Canada, c’est qu’on n’y a jamais distingué nettement le rôle de la traduction, qu’on ne s’est pas pénétré de la nécessité d’en confier l’exécution à des



gens vraiment préparés. Les ratés des autres professions pensaient à se réfugier dans la traduction. Heureusement, un régime de recrutement plus sensé les en éloigne maintenant dans les services de l'Etat. (Et c'est d'ailleurs pourquoi le recrutement y est d'une extrême difficulté: ne serait-ce pas que l'enseignement des langues n'est pas organisé comme il le faudrait au Canada?) Mais il n'existe aucun contrôle pour les traducteurs de l'extérieur (il y aurait lieu d'imiter la Belgique, à cet égard) et la traduction ne s'y améliore guère: on songe avec un peu d'ahurissement aux sommes énormes consacrées à la publicité française au Canada parfois en pure perte, par suite de la défectuosité des traductions. Du point de vue général, il faut comprendre quelle responsabilité retombe sur les traducteurs: ils enseignent à toute une nationalité à désigner les notions nouvelles et même les autres.

La traduction apparaît dès les débuts du régime anglais au Canada. D'abord excellente, elle se détériora par la suite, la tradition française s'oubliant, au point de tomber dans un charabia effroyable vers l'époque de l'Acte d'Union. On en arrive alors à écrire de ces phrases:

"J'avocasserais la soumission à la. . . Des griefs à faire remédier. . . Dans cette instance particulière, je crois aux écoles libres dans le système non-dénominational. . . Il fut trouvé impraticable en opération et impossible en contingences politiques. . . Avant que le sujet fut venu pour la discussion. . . L'hon. Premier a un jugement à lui. . . J'ai alors mis sur la table le record du jugement de mise hors de loi dans le cas de Louis Riel, le membre élu pour Provencher, et j'ai intimé mon intention d'agir. . ." (*Débats de la Chambre des communes*, 1875).

Ces traductions informes ne sont plus possibles. Il n'y a qu'à lire les documents officiels récents pour se rendre compte du chemin parcouru. La langue écrite, et singulièrement celle de la traduction officielle, a fait l'objet d'un redressement.

#### IV

##### CONCLUSION

Résumons-nous. Les divers états de la langue française au Canada se rangent dans trois grandes catégories.

a) *La langue populaire traditionnelle* est constituée en son fond essentiel du français populaire et provincial, adopté au 17<sup>e</sup> siècle par les colons, qui devaient, à leur arrivée en Nouvelle-France, abandonner les dialectes. Dans son état actuel,—caractérisé par les survivances dialectales, les archaïsmes et les canadianismes de bon aloi,—c'est un français authentique, un français dynamique, expressif et vigoureux.

b) Contaminé par un apport étranger mal assimilé, *le parler populaire*

*des villes, non moins que le parler de la bourgeoisie* est un langage amorphe, inorganisé, peut-être en décomposition. Ne se rattachant à aucune tradition linguistique, ne correspondant à aucune nécessité expressive, il n'est que la déformation d'une langue et non pas même une langue en transformation. Il ne peut qu'entraîner l'isolement, la régression culturelle, la médiocrité de pensée. Ce langage a sans doute atteint le fond de l'abjection. Il subit déjà des influences remédiatrices: progrès de la culture, lecture plus répandue, cinéma français.

c) *La langue écrite*, au Canada, est, dans l'idéal, la langue littéraire de France, idéal que bien peu atteignent mais dont on se rapproche de plus en plus. A cause de l'ambiance, l'écrivain canadien est exposé à employer inconsciemment des tournures anglaises, et rares sont ceux qui les évitent tout à fait. Cette ambiance est entretenue par la traduction. La langue écrite s'améliore en certains milieux. La qualité des ouvrages de quelques jeunes écrivains est supérieure à celle des générations précédentes; nos journaux sont mieux rédigés; la traduction officielle est mieux faite. Malgré les nombreuses faiblesses et incorrections qu'on y relève, le français écrit au Canada semble s'acheminer vers un palier supérieur.

Voici donc le bilan: côté créateur, langue populaire traditionnelle vigoureuse, langue écrite en progrès; côté débiteur, langue populaire des villes et langue de la bourgeoisie en déliquescence.

Tout compte fait, pour répondre à la question que nous nous posions au début, nous pouvons affirmer que le français, au Canada, peut être un utile instrument de culture et que, dans l'ensemble, loin de manifester des signes de disparition prochaine, il est en progrès.

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## THE PRESS OF CANADA

WILFRED EGGLESTON

THERE are nearly one hundred daily newspapers published in Canada, with an aggregate daily circulation of about three and a half million copies. Week-end editions of daily newspapers, or weekly publications containing both news and magazine sections, add between one and two millions a week. Local weekly newspapers, the "community press", number, large and small, nearly one thousand. They range in circulation from a few hundred to several thousand. The leading magazines have a combined circulation of nearly three million. Smaller magazines add a further 300,000 to this circulation. There are said to be thirty-two Canadian farm papers and magazines with a total circulation of nearly two million. The business and trade press comprises over two hundred periodicals with a circulation of a million. For the purposes of this study the exact figures do not, perhaps, matter very much. They are listed here to suggest the mass, the variety, and the complexity of the publications which could reasonably be comprised within the phrase "the press of Canada." There is, however, a world of difference between a great metropolitan daily, say, and a company house organ or philatelic journal; and no very useful purpose would be served by attempting to deal with all the categories in turn and assess their significance in the building of Canadian sentiment. Having indicated the wide variety of Canadian periodicals, I propose from now on to employ the phrase "the press of Canada". There is, however, a world of difference between the outstanding weeklies, and the national or important regional magazines, inasmuch as they, and they alone can, (I think), be regarded as really important factors or influences in the formation and development of national understanding.

The exposure of Canadians to the contents of the press is obviously extensive and persistent. Three hundred or more days a year, those hundred daily papers are rolling off the presses, over three million copies of them a day, millions of magazines every week, two million copies of farm papers every fortnight, a thousand community weeklies pouring out from five hundred copies to ten thousand each issue. Can all this newsprint and coated stock be perused in even the most casual way without it making its mark on Canadian thinking? Millions of columns



of information or speculation about Canada are being read every day: much of it deliberately aimed at the upbuilding of national feeling and common understanding: some of it, of course, stressing parochial, local, regional, sectional, factional, and ultra-provincial sentiment. The press is clearly one of the main Canadian agencies of mass information. Indeed, taken in conjunction with radio broadcasting, which draws extensively upon newspapermen for its news and to some extent for its views also, it probably holds first place. The more serious student of Canada undoubtedly relies largely on books and lecturers, but the sheer mass of newsprint and coated magazine stock quite outweighs the light sale and circulation of Canadian books and the relatively small segment of the population attending lectures. (And both books and lectures are affected by the authors' and lecturers' newspaper reading habits.) One is driven to the conclusion that what most Canadian know about Canada—and much of what they feel—must have come from the press. There must be hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Canadians who know almost nothing about those parts of Canada beyond their own backyards except what they have picked up from newspapers, magazines and, more latterly, the radio.

The reliance and dependence of Canadians upon the press will be found to differ enormously, I expect, as between the people who travel widely or in other ways come constantly and intimately into contact with first-hand news sources, and the others (the great majority, I suspect) who make almost no first-hand contact with the primary springs of public information and opinion. Especially dependent upon the press are rural people living far from centres of population.

If the press is indeed the central agency and source of Canadian knowledge and thus the chief basis of national understanding, it invites serious attention and examination.<sup>1</sup> Such questions as these are pertinent: who owns and controls the press of Canada? what policies govern its operation? what are the compelling influences in the economic and social environment in which it must operate? how well does it serve the Canadian people as purveyor of news and opinion? under what handicaps, economic and psychological, does it operate? to what extent does it engage in disseminating information about Canada, expressing national feeling and promoting common understanding, as a deliberate mission, and to what extent are its contributions in these fields incidental, casual

<sup>1</sup>For an uncomplimentary account of the role of the press in modern society and a discounting of the usual view of its power and influence, I would suggest pages 84-92 of *Public Opinion in a Democracy*, by Charles W. Smith Jr., Prentice-Hall, New York, 1947. Smith is obviously trying to present a balanced account, but the net effect of his presentation is severe. It is, of course, only part of the story.



or fortuitous? how fair, how thorough, how honest, is this incidental contribution?

I shall not attempt an exhaustive account of the structure and ownership of the press of Canada. The best recent account with which I am familiar is Chapter II of Carlton McNaught's *Canada Gets the News*, (published in 1940 by the Ryerson Press, Toronto). Nothing has happened since to invalidate McNaught's general appraisal. In 1940, he wrote that:

"Newspaper publishing is now a highly organized business. It requires considerable capital investment, a large personnel and a steady income to meet the innumerable outlays for production and service. The day has passed when a few thousand dollars could start a newspaper and the modest return from the sale of its wares could keep it in more or less flourishing existence . . . . The newspaper has become the department store of literature, and department stores are notoriously expensive to maintain. Moreover, the publishing business is highly competitive. The struggle to survive is often severe, varying in intensity in different areas and widening its arena as swift transportation extends the scope of the individual newspaper. The rewards to those who survive are frequently, though not invariably, great. The trend, as in other businesses, has been towards a narrowing of control through the elimination of weaker units, and a standardization of methods and products."

All this is at least as true today as when it was written.

The extent to which newspaper publishing is big business affects the politics, the tone and the philosophy of the publication:

". . . the publisher", writes McNaught, "often acquires a point of view which is that of the business groups in a community rather than of other and perhaps opposed groups; and this point of view is more likely than not to be reflected in his paper's treatment of news. The publisher usually belongs to the same clubs, moves in the same social circles, and breathes the same atmosphere as other business men. Publishers' associations are concerned almost wholly with the business problems of newspaper production, while the men who actually produce the paper are grouped in professional or trade union organizations of their own. Is it any wonder that publishers so often develop what Mr. William Allen White calls the country club complex?"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>William Ernest Hocking, a member of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press, expresses the same idea in a different way: "In the course of its technical and financial development, the press has become something that at first it was not, an active factor in the industrial system of the nation, and thus a directly interested party in the well-being of that system. And the maxim of worldly wisdom applies to it, when looked at statistically, that *the public cannot rely on any interested group for disinterested truth.*" *Freedom of the Press*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1947, p. 145.

This may be the most convenient place to say something about the influence of the advertiser on news policy. The press must get its revenue from some source or other, from individuals, from private enterprise or from government. If a newspaper could be financed solely from the sale of its publication, that might be a most happy solution, but it is quite a fanciful notion under present conditions. A New York newspaper, (*PM*), tried to survive without advertising, but ultimately failed even with the later support of advertising revenue. What solution is left? It is generally accepted that revenue from advertising is the least objectionable way of financing a publication.

The more successful a newspaper is in building up its financial reserves from its commercial operations, the freer it grows from financial pressures and the more courageous it can afford to be. But if income from advertising is the best of the alternative methods of financing the operation of newspapers, it is not without its disadvantages. The pressure of big business on the press, in the sense of the direct intervention of the advertiser, is more likely to be felt by an impecunious or weak paper (for which the retention of the account of a single large advertiser may be vital) than a strong one, but in subtle and pervasive ways no newspaper, in Canada or elsewhere, entirely escapes the influence of the advertiser, and of the world of business behind him. Of course, there is not much direct dictation from the advertiser, because, in normal circumstances, the advertiser needs the medium of newspaper advertising quite as much as the newspaper needs the advertising revenue. There is a classic case in the history of Canadian journalism of a quarrel between the *Toronto Star* and one of the big departmental store owners, in the course of which the owner stopped advertising in the *Star*, but within a few weeks had suffered such loss of business in comparison with his chief competitor that he pleaded to be allowed to come back. But it would be naive to suppose that no direct pressures exist anywhere. Suicides in famous hotels, accidents in big departmental stores, unsavory incidents in the lives of the relatives and connections of big advertisers, are sometimes treated in a quite different way than similar events among the uninfluential masses and in less powerful quarters would be. And there is another more oblique way in which the commercial side of press financing constantly influences the news, feature and entertainment contents of magazines and newspapers.

This subtle effect is more likely to operate powerfully in the periodical field (where almost the sole source of advertising revenue is national advertising by corporations and institutions doing business right across Canada and in a field where U.S. competition is intense) than in the daily newspaper field. Its nature can best be illustrated by concrete example.

Big corporations spend very large sums annually on advertising in all available media. Very naturally they want full value for their money.

Techniques have been developed to test whether they are in fact getting such value. One of the obvious criteria is the class of people reached by the advertising in question.

Since large corporations spend millions in advertising in Canadian periodicals, they have a lively interest in the class of Canadians who subscribe to them. They (or their advertising agents) make analyses of the subscribing and buying public, in respect to age, profession or occupation, income bracket, annual budget for this and that, and so on. Armed with this information, they can decide whether to place a full-page "ad" in Publication A or Publication B. The best possible "buy" for them is a magazine with a very large circulation among those younger Canadians who are in (or about to enter) the higher-income brackets; younger Canadians, because the advertisers are anxious to establish a buying habit for a specific brand or trade-name product, among people who are just on the threshold of that stage in their life when they will be in the market for houses and house equipment, automobiles, refrigerators, children's clothing, furniture, etc. A magazine read by hordes of such younger people is a much better financial proposition on which to place advertising than a magazine read by older people, who have already passed their buying peak, who will not normally acquire much more in the way of material possessions, and will before long die off and be lost as customers entirely. Magazine owners in turn are disposed to plan, edit and slant their periodicals toward the largest buying public in the most profitable age groups.

Writing in 1940, Carlton McNaught could conclude that:

"newspaper ownership in Canada has not been concentrated in chains and trusts to the same extent as in the United States and Great Britain. Yet even in Canada the increasing costs of operation in a competitive field have led to a progressive narrowing of control, as a result of the elimination of the weaker units and expansion of the survivors, and of the exclusion of new units because of the ever-larger amount of capital required to enter this contracting circle."

Since 1940 this narrowing of control, this cost of entering the contracting circle, has continued. Two of the three large daily newspapers in Toronto have since come under common control, the Southam group has acquired an additional daily newspaper (the *Medicine Hat News*), the Roy H. Thomson chain has been greatly extended, to include newspapers as far apart as Quebec City and Moose Jaw; there are smaller groups or chains in Quebec and British Columbia. Over the whole prairie region, there is now only one daily newspaper (The *Lethbridge Herald*) which is not a member of one or another of these concentrations of newspaper ownership. It is only fair to add, perhaps, that the British Royal Commission, commenting on a national press in which concentration has been



carried on somewhat further than in Canada, did not find the consequences to be as serious as many critics had contended:

"The present degree of concentration of ownership in the newspaper Press as a whole," the Commissioners wrote, "or in any important class of it is not so great as to prejudice the free expression of opinion or the accurate presentation of news or to be contrary to the best interests of the public. Newspaper chains are undesirable not in themselves, but only if they are so large or so few that they unduly limit the number and variety of the voices speaking to the public through the Press. We should not be alarmed by an increase in the number of relatively small chains; but we should deplore any tendency on the part of the larger chains to expand."<sup>1</sup>

One circumstance, it might be noted in passing, which reduces both here and in Britain the objectionable tendency of chain newspapers toward standardization and monopolistic policy is the common practice of allowing each member newspaper within such a chain or group a good deal of local freedom in respect to treatment of news and editorial attitude.

Though newspaper publishing is big business, too much should not be made of this definition. It is also a public utility and a public trust, as, I believe, every newspaper owner comes to see. Even when newspapers are acquired solely as a commercial investment or are inherited by men and women who may regard them at first solely as financial assets, the nature of the industry is normally such as to compel owners and operators of the press to develop a relationship with their public which is richer and more complex than in the case of the producer or merchandiser of soap or shoes. Of course individuals launch or purchase newspapers and magazines for many different reasons. Some want power, some want personal political advancement, some are cranks or crusaders, some want merely a fat financial profit. And there are undoubtedly mixed motives. One can readily call to mind powerful owners and editors of Canadian newspapers who have always made commercial considerations subservient to their zeal for the public welfare. It should not be expected that as a general rule newspapers or magazines will be operated primarily to inform Canadians without bias about all aspects of their country, its life and its story, or to foster national sentiment and common understanding. They cannot avoid doing some of this, even if by pure chance. But it would be unrealistic to suppose that the men and women who own, or those who actually get out the newspapers of Canada, have always in the forefront of their minds the service which the press of Canada can render to the cause of nationhood by dissemination of constructive news or by sponsoring of the right kind of opinion. The high mission of the press tends to be obscured and forgotten in the exciting tempo of events in the newsroom,

<sup>1</sup>Report of The Royal Commission on the Press, (Great Britain) 1949, para. 672.



the heat of the political campaign, and the lightning-like decisions and counter-decisions that must be made as the deadline approaches. The typical modern newspaper offers to its reading public a great and assorted volume of news, entertainment in several varieties, education (if often of a shallow and elementary nature) opinion, interpretation, and a very extensive and important market service (through its display and classified "ads"). By and large the working force of a newspaper is preoccupied with the provision of these services to the exclusion of finespun philosophy or the nice balancing of ethical and national values.

Every managing editor develops his own conception of what is "news", and subject to practical limitations normally seeks to make his paper exemplify this conception. His personal ideas about priority of importance in current events are reflected by the headlines in his paper: by what is played up, and by what is left out. His range, quality and tone of Canadian news is to a large extent governed by the activities and news policies of The Canadian Press, the British United Press, and of his own reporters and correspondents. All news coverage involves constant selection of a few features out of the endless buzzing activity of human beings. Fourteen million Canadians are busy each day about their affairs, are moving along the millions of individual paths toward some goal, are cooperating and clashing, succumbing and triumphing. Out of the vast number of events and transactions occurring each day in Canada, a few must be singled out by reporters and editors for closer attention, for reporting and transmitting. The selection must be drastic, and some sort of values and priorities must be adopted and followed.

Most newspaper readers accept the fare they receive as a result without much analysis or criticism. Most successful newspapermen have developed a "nose for news", a sense of what is a big story, and what in turn is a bigger story. What is news? Books have been written in an effort to answer that question. News values are personal and relative: the big news of one culture would pass by without notice in another; news in one decade is not news in another. In general, news consists of reports of recent happenings or disclosures which are of interest or concern to a large number of people. The deeper the concern and the wider the interest, the bigger the news. "Big" news is driven off the front page by "bigger news". A relatively minor event which happened half an hour ago supplants a much more important event which happened yesterday, an item telling what bait a prime minister used on his fishing hook will climb ahead of the death of an obscure citizen, the collision of two cars on Main Street of Gopher Prairie will get into the Gopher Prairie paper when a famine in India does not. For a clue to news priorities one plumbs the depths of individual and social psychology.

The bearing of all this on the present inquiry should be spelled out.

The newspapers and magazines of Canada will generally report those aspects of Canadian life which their editors believe (as a result of practice more than theory, trial and error, public reaction) to be those aspects about which most of their readers want to hear. That the news-and-feature fare—the *mélange*—thus created may be a very different fare in content and emphasis than that which a Canadian statesman concerned about national sentiment and common understanding would prescribe is obvious enough. But the average editor would not be jarred or rebuked by such an implied criticism. By and large, he would contend that if his newspaper or magazine is to be read, is to have subscribers, and thus to have revenue and a profit at the end of the year, he must serve the public with the kind of information and entertainment it wants. Otherwise, no matter how laudable the aim, the publication will not be read, will not be bought, will soon cease to exist entirely.

The press cannot be expected to be a perfect mirror of Canadian current happenings, or even a balanced or rational picture, for the reasons suggested above. Of course, if its reports sometimes do not contribute to national feeling and common understanding, the fault may lie not in the press, which—as has been stressed—is primarily an agency or channel, but in the events themselves. As a recorder and reporter of events, it can be contended with some cogency that the press should be accurate, fair and neutral. Benevolently neutral, perhaps. Wherever a free press exists, and reporters do their duty, they will report what is done and said, without censorship, without fear or favour. Editors may, in their zeal for national understanding, their pride in national achievement, soft-pedal or censor outright reports of events which seem likely to cause sectional controversy and national ill-feeling. And they are under some pressure to play up national news of a constructive and flattering nature. To avoid being a contributor to tale-bearing, false witness, the spreading of inflammatory opinion, may be a laudable aim, but a newspaperman with a conscience cannot help feeling that his duty is to report the truth, so far as he can find that out. Under such circumstances editors cannot be criticized if they carry a good deal of unpleasant and even divisive material, provided the factual basis is there for such reports. The offence lies in the original deed and the word, not in the subsequent disclosure by the press. In the long run the shutting of editorial eyes to the unpalatable truth, and even more the deliberate falsification of a record in the supposed interests of national harmony would do far more harm than a blunt and unsensational account of realities.

How well does the press of Canada express national feeling and promote common understanding?

It should be noted at once that Canada possesses no really national newspapers. Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect such to exist, considering

the transcontinental sweep of the country and the very large areas of almost uninhabited country lying between the main concentrations of population. An examination of the newspapers published at, say, Halifax, Quebec City, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver, will show that while a few subjects of national interest are covered in a common way and with much the same prominence, there are striking regional or local interests which commonly transcend and crowd out the national news, in every regional centre. Even if the physical difficulties of getting a daily newspaper to every main centre of Canada on the same day could be overcome, it is questionable whether such a newspaper, which attempted to cover the national field and which therefore found it impossible to give adequate coverage to local and regional matters, would have a very wide or deep appeal in any one locality. This at any rate is the view of experienced Canadian newspapermen. There is also the problem of language, because any newspaper which was not read by those who use the French language as well as their English-reading *confrères* could hardly be called national. In this sense it is obviously going to be a long time before Canada has a national newspaper in the way the United Kingdom has them, or even as much of a national newspaper as the *New York Times* or the *Christian Science Monitor* is a national newspaper in the United States.

There is, of course, the national coverage of The Canadian Press. This national coverage was built up with much difficulty and at great expense, and with the nation-building values of such a service in mind. Since the news of The Canadian Press is also the raw material of the Canadian part of the national news bulletins (supplemented by the material of the British United Press) this national coverage is a very important factor in "expressing national feeling" and in "promoting common understanding." M. E. Nichols, historian of the news association, describes it as "The power . . . that brings Canadians from one shore to another to a common understanding of the nation's problems".<sup>1</sup>

The operations of The Canadian Press command admiration for their thoroughness and fairness. There is, however, one aspect of press agency or association coverage (and it applies to them all, all over the world) which reduces its value in spreading understanding and promoting national feeling. Its selection of news, its sets of news values, its sense of priorities in the transmission of matter, are essentially the same as those which govern the choice of news in the average North American daily newspaper. Its selections and its priorities are those of the typical city newsroom. Indeed, outside its own staff, its correspondents are largely the city editors of the Canadian dailies.

This means that Canadians tend to be very fully informed about

<sup>1</sup>M. E. Nichols, *CP—The Story of the Canadian Press*, Ryerson, Toronto, 1948, p. 316.



fatal highway accidents of Nova Scotia but know little or nothing about that province's amateur drama. We hear much of the Dionne quintuplets but little of revolutionary changes in the social attitude of the working man in Quebec. We know all about the Red River floods in Winnipeg but read little in the newspapers about the largest musical festival in the world. The murders, droughts, lost children, air crashes, boat disasters, fires, divorces and bank robberies are sure to get adequate national coverage. There is much less likelihood that Canadians will hear about less sensational developments. A thousand constructive activities, spiritual and social as well as material, may be going on in a town but they will seldom get beyond the pages of the local newspaper, if indeed they get that far. Let a local clergyman run off with a choir girl, and it may be carried in every newspaper in Canada. It is of no use complaining too much about this, perhaps, for this is the kind of thing the proprietors of the newspapers believe their readers want; and they encourage The Canadian Press and other news associations to gather it up for them from all across Canada. The general public has the cure for this in its own hands. When it wants other fare badly enough, it will get it.

A truly national newspaper would be widely read in every part of Canada, and its contents would be national in scope and treatment. To be read for its news, it would have to reach every part of Canada the same day. The use of thin paper and delivery by aircraft, or a facsimile process, may some day make this possible. At present the only approach toward a national newspaper is made by dailies like the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, the *Montreal Gazette* and the *Montreal Star*, which have some readership over most of urban Canada, and which to a greater or lesser degree seek to interpret and discuss national issues on their editorial pages.

The considerations of timeliness which sharply limit efforts to establish national newspapers are not so serious in the fields of opinion, education, interpretation and entertainment, and so-called national magazines can and do exist, although there is only (so far as I know) a single publication of a bilingual nature (or in either language) which is widely read in both English-speaking and French-speaking Canada.

The value of national publications as a contribution toward national self-consciousness has been recognized in some quarters from Confederation onwards. There is, for example, an interesting letter addressed by Goldwin Smith to Max Müller, dated September 4th, 1871, at a time when Smith was busy at Toronto helping to launch *The Canadian Monthly*:

"My dear Max Müller:

I want you to do me a kindness. You will be doing one at the same time to that humble but promising branch of the Teutonic race—the Canadian nation, as it is now beginning to call itself.

They are going to have a National Magazine—really a step toward nationality in this country, where newspapers and magazines are almost the only reading of the people. They hope to stop the process which is at present going on of intellectual annexation to the United States, the magazines of which largely circulate here . . .”

(The “kindness” requested of the German philologist was the forwarding of a list of suitable German tales for translation and use in *The Canadian Monthly*.)

It would, I think, be most illuminating to trace the development of Canadian periodicals since Confederation, especially the story of the last thirty or forty years. So far as I know there is no study of the sort in existence and the preparation of such a work would require extensive research. The pages of Canadian periodicals over the decades reflect the consequences of great national and international forces and influences. As for the magazines themselves, there have been notable gains and lamentable losses. In numbers, circulation, wealth, influence and coverage Canadian periodicals today greatly out-shadow those even of 1920. They are more lavishly produced, more luxuriously engraved and illustrated. The fact is that in order to survive at all they have had to cope with and to compete with a similar but earlier and even more imposing revolution in the style and format of U.S. publications. It is undeniable that Canadian periodical publishers have met this commercial challenge with notable success. Magazines of business, fashion, society and the trade and technological fields are produced in Canada in volume and quality not seriously inferior, allowing for the differences in wealth and population, to those of the United States. In a sense the evolution of the periodical mirrors the invasion by American values and standards of civilization into the urban areas of Canada. As our customs and standards copy and emulate theirs, our publications tend to do likewise.

The struggle for survival against the floods of cheap, attractive, slick, superficial periodicals always pouring in from the United States has, I think, compelled the Canadian industry to combine and amalgamate; and in the process, while a few strong units have been built up, we have lost a good many smaller and weaker publications of individuality and character. The overall effect has been to stifle originality and whimsicality, and to destroy small regional publications which stressed the uniqueness of Canadian localities, and Canadian settlements. Much admirable writing of a semi-amateur calibre no longer finds a market in the slick super-magazines. It is true that the ruthless drive of competition has eliminated also a good deal of crude and inconsequential work. But in many ways the older situation was the healthier. The day was when a Canadian with a few thousand dollars to invest could launch his own newspaper or magazine and encourage the kind of writing he favoured.

Now it takes hundreds of thousands or millions, and the managers or directors who are responsible to the shareholders or investors have their eye largely on circulation, sales and profits. The policy of the magazine, its contents, are largely dictated to them by revenue considerations. With all the impressive growth of Canadian periodicals and the vast improvement in the reporting and commenting on the material, financial, commercial and economic aspects of Canadian life, there has gone on either a decline, or a singular failure to keep parallel progress, in the fields of fiction, belles-lettres, verse, essays, etc. One of Canada's outstanding novelists once pointed out to me that he had only one market in Canada for short stories, and that was *Maclean's*. If his story was not written in their mold, or did not happen to appeal to their fiction editor, he knew of no other Canadian market for his wares. And if his story had a special appeal or meaning to Canadians and was written with a Canadian setting, that rejection might mean he could never place it anywhere. The markets for verse in Canada are pathetically few, and almost none of them pays anything. The only market of any consequence for anything in the essay form is for the radio talk, and the occasional piece on the editorial page of a daily newspaper.

Can anything be done by the federal government to improve this situation? Tariffs to exclude U.S. magazines would be a barrier against ideas and intellectual stimulation. Subsidies and subventions are full of political dynamite and might tend to subvert a free press. Any direct aid seems open to objection.

It would, however, be in keeping with our history and political philosophy to be alert at all times to remove from the newspaper industry and indeed all aspects of publishing any burdens that can in equity be lifted. If the legitimate role of government in a parliamentary democracy is to "clear the playing field" for healthy competition of private enterprise, and to adopt productive policies of national development and taxation, the publishing industry has every right to partake in and benefit from these to the full. Anything which improves communications between various parts of Canada, which reduces the cost of doing business, which lightens the tax load, helps the press as well as other industry. A great deal of indirect help of this kind is possible, and the danger here of direct political influence is, I think, negligible. The press will be helped by policies which reduce the costs of capital equipment, improve postal efficiency and lower its costs, improve methods of communication, attack combines and modify patent laws so as to favor technological changes, lighten the burden of the sales tax, and so on. No greater contribution could be made to a free and independent press in this era, for example, than some technological revolution which would again make it possible for a crusader or reformer or man of public spirit to launch, with a few



thousand dollars, an organ of opinion or a regional newspaper or magazine. It is the duty of governments to maintain patent and monopoly laws and policies such as would encourage innovations of this sort.

So far as the specific scope of this report is concerned: the encouragement of the press in promoting national feeling and common understanding, and in contributing to a richer urban and rural life in Canada, there are few proposals for governmental aids of a direct nature which will bear analysis. At least if there are, I have not heard them. A national newspaper may be highly desirable, but it will not come about by government subsidy. More national magazines of opinion, reporting developments in the arts, letters and cultures of the whole nation, would be of great value, but they cannot be brought into being through government intervention.

These things must spring up in a healthy way through genuine demand. When there is sufficient national consciousness and national pride, enough interest in cultural events as they happen in various parts of Canada, new publishers will emerge—assuming that a tight monopoly of concentrated industry does not make the venture too costly or otherwise unattractive, and that external competition is not too fierce—or old ones will take up the challenge, and supply the service. To whatever extent the recommendations of this Commission are adopted and do stimulate this increase in national feeling and common understanding, the press, as a mirror of opinion, and a medium of mass communication will rapidly begin to reflect the growing flame of curiosity and appreciation and to report new developments. In the same way it may be hoped and expected that the new demands will encourage more young men and women to dedicate themselves to the task of investigating, reporting and interpreting the new Canadian spirit and the new Canadian achievement. I would add that a high standard of knowledge about Canada, and a growing mastery of the techniques of mass communication will be necessary, and that both governmental and private encouragement in these fields will be a sound investment in the national life and welfare.

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## LA PRESSE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE AU CANADA

DONATIEN FRÉMONT

UNE étude sur la presse de langue française au Canada, envisagée sous ses différents aspects, fournit un excellent baromètre de l'état présent du groupe canadien-français, de sa vie intellectuelle et sociale, de la part qui lui revient dans l'effort collectif du mouvement culturel au pays.

Le chiffre total des quotidiens d'expression française, qui est de treize, fait assez bonne figure, toutes proportions gardées, auprès de celui des quotidiens de langue anglaise, qui s'élève à 76. A Montréal, où se trouve concentré un tiers de la population du Québec, il se publie cinq quotidiens de langue française, dont le tirage global atteint 360,000. Trois quotidiens de langue anglaise, de leur côté, totalisent un tirage de 233,000. La clientèle de ces derniers s'étend donc d'une façon appréciable au public d'origine française de la métropole, qui éprouve le besoin de se familiariser avec l'autre langue. Le même phénomène joue, mais dans une moindre mesure, chez l'élément anglo-saxon.

Avec ses 245,000 numéros quotidiens, *La Presse* détient le premier rang à Montréal et le second dans tout le pays, immédiatement après le *Star*, de Toronto. Ses quatre concurrents—*La Patrie*, *Le Canada*, *Le Devoir*, *Montréal-Matin*—sont des journaux d'un type très différent et de tirage plus modeste. Alors que *La Presse* est une réplique fidèle du grand quotidien d'information américain, publiant de 40 à 60 pages, les autres tiennent le milieu entre le journal d'opinion et le journal d'information, se contentant d'ordinaire de 10 à 16 pages. C'est une formule qui répond assez bien aux exigences de l'esprit français. L'individualisme traditionnel de ce dernier s'accommode mieux d'un choix varié de journaux dont chacun offre sa note particulière. A Québec, *Le Soleil* et *L'Événement*, quotidiens conjugués du soir et du matin, totalisent un tirage de 113,700, tandis que *L'Action Catholique* atteint celui de 80,500.

Les dernières années ont été dures pour la vie matérielle des journaux. Cependant, la hausse énorme et rapide dans le coût de la production n'a entraîné la disparition d'aucun quotidien de langue française et le prix du numéro porté à cinq cents n'a affecté que temporairement le chiffre des tirages. Mais il ne peut plus être question de journalisme sans une solide entreprise industrielle à la base. Plus de la moitié des quotidiens fran-



gaïs de la province de Québec se rattachent à de puissants consortiums. A Montréal, il y a le groupe formé par *La Presse*, *La Patrie* et *La Patrie du Dimanche*; dans la presse hebdomadaire, celui du *Petit Journal* et de *Photo-Journal*. Le groupe des journaux du sénateur Nicol comprend: *Le Soleil* et *L'Événement*, de Québec; *La Tribune*, de Sherbrooke, *Le Nouvelliste*, de Trois-Rivières. Ces associations d'intérêts ne constituent pas des monopoles et chacune des feuilles sœurs a sa personnalité

Sur les treize quotidiens du Canada français, deux se publient en dehors de la province de Québec. *Le Droit* existe depuis quarante ans à Ottawa, ville située à proximité de la frontière québécoise et centre d'une région ontarienne colonisée surtout par des Canadiens français. Sa présence dans la capitale fédérale, aux côtés de deux confrères de langue anglaise, affirme à sa manière le caractère bilingue du pays. Au centre de l'Acadie, *L'Évangéline*, de Moncton, N.-B., devenue graduellement quotidienne, atteste, par sa vitalité, les progrès de l'élément de langue française dans les Provinces Maritimes.

#### UNE ÉVOLUTION DE STRUCTURE INTERNE

L'apparence extérieure des journaux de langue française est sensiblement uniforme et diffère peu de celle de leurs confrères anglais. Deux quotidiens—*La Patrie* et *Montréal-Matin*—ont adopté le format "tabloid". Pendant près de quarante ans, *Le Devoir* a gardé l'aspect sévère des journaux de l'ancien type du *Temps* et des *Débats*, de Paris, sans gros titres ni photos, avec les articles de rédaction en première page. Il s'est maintenant rallié à la tenue générale: manchettes, clichés et la partie éditoriale reléguée à l'intérieur.

C'est dans sa structure interne, principalement, que la presse canadienne-française a évolué au cours des dix à quinze dernières années. L'ancien journal de parti, intransigeant sur les principes, a presque entièrement disparu. La politique n'inspire plus, comme autrefois, toutes les rubriques du journal. La plupart des quotidiens se proclament indépendants, quitte à manifester des "tendances" pour l'un ou l'autre parti, ou même à prendre nettement position à la veille d'une consultation nationale.

La partie doctrinale du journal, si elle occupe une place plus restreinte, garde son intérêt et son importance auprès de la portion la plus éclairée des lecteurs. Dans la presse de grande information, la page éditoriale passe au second plan et manque de relief; elle est l'objet de plus de soins et exerce une influence plus réelle dans la presse à tirage moyen. A l'exemple des feuilles anglaises, celles de langue française adoptent de plus en plus l'usage de donner quatre ou cinq articles courts (300 à 400 mots), au lieu du long et traditionnel leader d'autrefois, auquel le petit nombre seulement est demeuré fidèle.

Les polémiques ont tenu beaucoup de place, naguère, dans la presse canadienne de langue française et ont souvent passionné le public. Elles tendent de plus en plus à se raréfier, sinon à disparaître complètement. Le déclin très net du journal essentiellement politique y est pour beaucoup, et aussi l'éclipse des petites feuilles dont les attaques violentes constituaient l'élément de succès éphémère. Il faut noter que les principales controverses de ces dernières années ont porté de préférence sur des questions d'art, de théâtre et de littérature. En même temps que la presse accordait plus d'importance aux choses internationales, économiques, sociales et culturelles, son influence sur le public s'étendait à une foule de domaines, au détriment de sa préoccupation presque exclusive d'autrefois: la politique.

#### LES PÉRIODIQUES

Les grands hebdomadaires dominicaux de Montréal ont pris beaucoup d'extension en ces dernières années. *La Patrie du Dimanche* tire à 240,000 exemplaires; *Le Petit Journal* à 192,000; *Photo-Journal* à 91,000. Ces feuilles de format "tabloid" appartiennent au type du journal-magazine populaire, avec déploiement d'imageries, de "comics", de reportages plus ou moins sensationnels. C'est la méthode américaine dans ce qu'elle a de moins recommandable, assaisonnée à la mode canadienne-française.

Ce genre de presse dominicale a complètement évincé l'ancien hebdomadaire politique et littéraire d'avant-garde, dont le plus représentatif fut *Le Jour*, de Jean-Charles Harvey, et dont *Le Haut-Parleur*, du sénateur T.-D. Bouchard, a tenté de recueillir la succession. Il reste néanmoins *Notre Temps*, hebdomadaire "social et culturel", qui se modèle sur ses confrères catholiques de France. Dans une note différente, *Le Samedi*, fondé il y a soixante ans et très répandu (82,000), a conservé sa formule de revue familiale.

La presse hebdomadaire régionale réussit à se maintenir et à prospérer. Toutes les feuilles locales bien rédigées, si modestes soient-elles, gardent leur raison d'être et recrutent un groupe de lecteurs fidèles. Le progrès industriel et commercial d'un grand nombre de petits centres est une source de publicité accrue qui les aide à boucler leur budget.

Les hebdomadaires canadiens-français publiés hors de la province de Québec eurent longtemps une existence fort précaire. Leur survivance méritoire témoigne une volonté ardente et persévérante, chez ces groupes extérieurs, de garder à tout prix leur langue et leurs traditions. Le Manitoba français, entre autres, a eu constamment à son service, depuis 1871, un ou plusieurs journaux. *La Liberté et le Patriote*, de Winnipeg, est peut-être aujourd'hui l'hebdomadaire régional de langue française le plus important et le plus répandu de tout le Canada.

Dans le champ des publications à périodicité mensuelle ou trimestrielle,

il faut signaler avec regret l'élimination graduelle de toutes les revues indépendantes. *Les Idées, Regards, La Nouvelle Relève*, qui furent des foyers littéraires et artistiques d'avant-garde, ont fini par s'éclipser. Disparue aussi, après trois années d'existence, la revue de luxe *Gants du Ciel*, lancée en pleine période de guerre. En décembre 1950, parassait le dernier numéro de *Liaison*, la seule survivante de cette catégorie. La fin de sa brève existence marquait l'échec de la formule coopérative appliquée à l'édition d'une revue littéraire et artistique.

Mais si tous les périodiques indépendants ont succombé l'un après l'autre, ceux publiés sous les auspices d'universités et de communautés religieuses ont tenu le coup et se sont même développés. Québec a la *Revue de l'Université Laval*, qui a succédé au *Canada français*; la capitale fédérale possède la *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*; Montréal patronne *L'Action Universitaire* et la *Revue trimestrielle canadienne*. Il faut ajouter: la *Revue Dominicaine*; *Culture*, inspirée par les Franciscains; *Relations* et *Les Cahiers Viatoriens*, dirigés respectivement par les Jésuites et les Clercs de Saint-Viateur. Tout cela représente une belle somme d'efforts louables qui gagneraient à être moins dispersés.

A côté de ces périodiques destinés à une élite, quelques autres visent le grand public et connaissent les gros tirages: le *Bulletin des Agriculteurs* (152,000), *Sélection du Reader's Digest* (115,000), la *Revue Moderne* (100,000 et la *Revue Populaire* (80,000). Ces deux dernières ont plus que doublé le chiffre de leurs lecteurs depuis dix ans; elles ont aussi réalisé un bel effort au point de vue de la présentation artistique.

#### LA PRESSE ET LA LITTÉRATURE

L'une des caractéristiques principales de la presse quotidienne et périodique, en ces dernières années, est l'importance grandissante qu'elle accorde à la chose littéraire et artistique. Sur ce point, elle ne s'est pas contentée de suivre le goût du public: elle a contribué dans une large mesure à le faire naître et à le diriger. Aucun journal qui n'apporte une attention suivie aux manifestations diverses de toutes les disciplines de l'art. La littérature n'est pas la moins choyée. Plusieurs quotidiens lui consacrent une page entière dans leur numéro du samedi. La critique surveille de près le mouvement de l'édition et aucun livre nouveau, quelle que soit son importance, ne risque de passer inaperçu. Depuis sept années consécutives, *Le Canada* publie chaque hiver un supplément littéraire qui suscite de l'intérêt jusqu'à l'étranger.

Quels débouchés la presse offre-t-elle à la littérature nationale et aux œuvres d'imagination en particulier? Nos journaux, qui ont gardé la tradition française du roman-feuilleton, n'ont jamais songé, semble-t-il, à l'utiliser au profit des écrivains du Canada. Liés par contrat avec la Société des Gens de lettres, de Paris, ils reproduisent exclusivement des



œuvres de ses adhérents, en général de qualité plutôt médiocre. Plusieurs des romans canadiens de langue française soutiendraient aisément la concurrence avec la majorité de ceux que l'on importe. Leur ménager une place à côté de la production en série de la Société des Gens de lettres serait un stimulant pour nos romanciers. Les journaux, de leur côté, pourraient trouver leur bénéfice à lancer de temps à autre une œuvre inédite d'écrivain canadien.

Le journalisme a eu chez nous la bonne fortune rare d'être le berceau de la littérature. Il n'est pas permis de l'oublier, même si les résultats n'eurent rien d'éblouissant. Par la suite, c'est du même milieu que sont venus aux lettres canadiennes les encouragements les plus fermes et les plus intelligents. Des journalistes comme Olivar Asselin, Jules Fournier, Louis Francœur, par la conscience qu'ils mirent dans l'exercice de leur métier et par leurs efforts méritoires pour améliorer notre langue, ont acquis des droits à la reconnaissance des lettrés. Des rangs de la presse sont sortis plusieurs de nos bons écrivains. Parmi ceux demeurés attachés à la profession, on en citerait facilement deux ou trois dans chaque journal qui sont des maîtres dans leur métier et dont le français est le meilleur qui s'écrive ici. Au Canada français, le journaliste digne de ce nom est presque le seul homme de lettres qui vive de sa plume. Son apport à la vie intellectuelle du pays dépasse de loin celui de bien des auteurs officiellement cotés, au bagage souvent extrêmement mince.

#### LA PRESSE CANADIENNE-FRANÇAISE ET LA LANGUE

Cela ne veut pas dire que les journaux canadiens de langue française sont des modèles de style et de correction grammaticale. La vérité est qu'à part de trop rares exceptions, et en dépit des progrès réalisés depuis quelque temps, leur tenue laisse à désirer. Du moins remarque-t-on un écart notable entre les diverses parties qui composent l'ensemble d'un journal. On semble croire que si les articles de rédaction sont d'une écriture passable, le reste n'a qu'une importance secondaire et peut s'accommoder d'un certain laisser-aller qui donne à notre presse un cachet original. On ferme les yeux sur les pages sportives, financières et publicitaires, qui ne scandalisent plus personne, mais dont le langage hermétique n'est compris que des initiés.

Il y a là un danger très grave pour l'avenir de la langue et de l'esprit français au Canada. Les diverses rubriques d'un journal forment un tout indivisible et méritent un traitement égal. Nul n'ignore que le lecteur moyen porte plus d'intérêt aux informations de tous genres, aux faits divers, à la chronique sportive et aux annonces qu'aux articles de fond. C'est donc là qu'il puise le vocabulaire et les tours de phrase dont il use dans la vie courante. Son journal lui fournit soir et matin des leçons pratiques de langage qu'il absorbe bon gré mal gré. Après l'école, dont

l'influence est plutôt éphémère, les grands éducateurs de la masse sont forcément les feuilles publiques, qui pénètrent partout et constituent la lecture exclusive d'une très forte majorité des adultes. Il est parfaitement inutile—pour ne pas dire ridicule—de publier des listes impeccables de "Dites. . . ne dites pas. . ." si le papier qui porte ces bons conseils se charge lui-même de les ruiner par le mépris qu'il en affiche quotidiennement. Les directeurs et les rédacteurs assument donc une lourde responsabilité à laquelle ils ne sauraient échapper. Ceux qui n'ont pas le souci de fournir à leur clientèle des nouvelles rédigées dans une langue correcte, claire et concise, manquent à leur devoir le plus essentiel. Cette négligence coupable peut entraîner à plus ou moins brève échéance la mort du français au Canada.

L'anglicisme sous toutes ses formes, qui est le péché mignon des Canadiens français, sévit tout particulièrement dans le journalisme. Comment pourrait-il en être autrement, lorsque c'est l'anglais qui impose les instruments de travail et jusqu'aux lois du métier? Le journaliste qui a continuellement de l'anglais sous les yeux, s'il n'a pas appris à faire la distinction fondamentale entre les génies des deux langues, peut perdre l'habitude de penser dans la sienne. Il arrive alors à s'exprimer dans une prose où l'on ne retrouve plus aucune des qualités natives du français. Il peut aller même jusqu'à mettre de côté toutes les règles de la composition française et écrire des "papiers" qui répondent au type parfait du reportage anglo-saxon. L'excuse classique consiste à invoquer la hâte fébrile qui préside au travail et la dure nécessité de faire constamment œuvre de traducteur. Personne ne niera les obstacles très sérieux que cela représente; mais les vrais journalistes parviennent à les surmonter, et il serait facile d'en citer des exemples. C'est là affaire de compétence et de conscience linguistiques. Pour un journaliste rompu au métier qui a reçu la vraie formation, le voisinage de l'anglais, loin d'être une entrave, peut devenir une source d'enrichissement.

Peut-être la profession n'attire-t-elle pas, ou ne sait-elle pas retenir une élite de nature à en relever le niveau. Beaucoup de jeunes gens s'y engagent sans préparation suffisante, parfois sans vocation. D'autres, qui auraient le feu sacré, sont trop laissés à eux-mêmes et ne reçoivent pas les conseils sur lesquels ils seraient en droit de compter; les chefs de service n'ont pas le temps de s'en occuper, ou s'en désintéressent, ou se succèdent trop rapidement. Ceux qui tiennent le coup et arrivent, à force de travail et de persévérance, à connaître à fond le métier, cèdent fréquemment à la tentation de s'évader lorsque sonne pour eux l'heure des charges familiales. Ils finissent alors par se caser dans les maisons de courtage, l'administration, les agences de publicité, où la rémunération est plus intéressante et la besogne moins harassante.

## LA PRESSE FACTEUR DE BILINGUISME ET D'UNITÉ

La presse canadienne, qui a servi de véhicule à des idées parfois violemment opposées, est devenue, avec le temps, un facteur de bilinguisme et d'unité, le point de rencontre de l'activité nationale des deux groupes de la population. Ces journaux à tendances diverses poursuivent un but commun : l'information du public et la défense des intérêts du pays. Ils puisent leurs renseignements en grande partie aux mêmes sources, tout en offrant une agréable variété dans la présentation et l'interprétation des faits du jour. A Montréal, à Ottawa et ailleurs, rédacteurs et reporters des deux langues se coudoient journallement et travaillent dans le meilleur esprit confraternel. Cette étroite association remonte aux origines mêmes de la presse canadienne. Nos premiers journaux furent bilingues et le bilinguisme est demeuré de règle dans la profession, du moins dans la province de Québec. Le journaliste anglo-canadien, pour être en mesure de bien remplir sa tâche, doit connaître la langue et les coutumes du Canada français, au même titre que son confrère de l'autre groupe doit savoir à fond l'anglais et être familier avec le monde anglo-canadien. Ils ne sont pas rares dans la presse canadienne-française, les bilingues accomplis capables de passer au pied levé de *La Presse* au *Star* ou du *Droit* au *Citizen*. De fait, tous les journaux d'expression anglaise de la province de Québec ont à leur service des Canadiens français.

La formule bilingue des débuts n'a jamais été complètement abandonnée; on la retrouve dans nombre de publications commerciales et officielles, voire artistiques et culturelles. Dans la presse quotidienne du Québec, l'autre langue garde ses entrées sous une forme ou sous une autre. A Montréal, la *Gazette* a donné, pendant quelque temps, la traduction en français de l'un de ses articles de fond parus au cours de la semaine; depuis quatre ou cinq ans, le *Star* publie chaque samedi une chronique de l'abbé Arthur Maheux—textes anglais et français en regard l'un de l'autre—sur le thème général du resserrement des liens entre les deux principaux éléments ethniques du Canada. Le même désir de compréhension mutuelle se manifeste par un nombre croissant de quotidiens anglo-canadiens qui font connaître, en revue de presse, le point de vue de leurs confrères d'expression française. Quant à ces derniers, ils publient fréquemment des textes anglais;—reproductions d'articles ou lettres de lecteurs.

## L'INFLUENCE ANGLO-CANADIENNE

La presse canadienne-française subit l'influence inévitable de la presse de langue anglaise, à laquelle elle se rattache par tant de liens. Cette influence, qui est réciproque, a donné d'excellents résultats au point de vue de l'unité nationale. Les questions de race et de religion ont perdu de leur âpreté d'autrefois, depuis que la frontière entre les deux groupes n'est



plus aussi fermée, en bonne partie grâce à la presse des deux langues. Il court beaucoup moins de légendes sur la province de Québec, depuis que les journaux anglais accordent plus d'attention à la vie de l'élément français et recrutent des lecteurs dans ce milieu.

D'une façon générale, la presse canadienne-française s'est rapprochée de l'autre par la place plus considérable qu'elle accorde à l'information, dans l'ordre national aussi bien que dans l'ordre international. Elle s'intéresse plus volontiers à ce qui se passe hors de sa province. Les longues années de guerre et d'après-guerre ont créé les mêmes angoisses et les mêmes problèmes chez les deux fractions de notre peuple. L'immense effort déployé pour conquérir la paix mondiale, les difficultés économiques et la lutte contre le communisme sont des faits qui s'imposent avec la même force à tous les Canadiens. L'impulsion extraordinaire donnée par le dernier conflit à la découverte scientifique dans tous les domaines se reflète aussi de manière égale dans les journaux des deux langues. Il faut en dire autant des progrès remarquables réalisés dans le monde médical et du mouvement en faveur des réformes touchant au bien-être social.

On observera néanmoins qu'à part une exception unique—*La Presse* de Montréal—les informations de source télégraphique sont, en général, moins abondantes dans les quotidiens français que dans ceux de l'autre langue. Cela tient à une raison d'ordre matériel qu'il importe de souligner. Le texte des dépêches transmises aux journaux par les agences de presse arrive en anglais. Ce qui veut dire que pour les feuilles de cette langue, il passe immédiatement du fil entre les mains des linotypistes, après qu'on y a mis les titres et les sous titres. Mais les journaux français ont à traduire toutes ces nouvelles avant de les envoyer à la composition. Traduire vite et bien, cela exige un personnel nombreux et compétent. Il y a là pour la presse de langue française un sérieux handicap, le plus lourd assurément contre lequel elle doit lutter.

La même difficulté se présente pour d'autres sources d'information. Les textes officiels français de toute provenance qui, en principe, devraient être distribués en même temps que ceux de langue anglaise, sont le plus fréquemment en retard. La presse canadienne-française est la première à en souffrir et ses plaintes à ce sujet sont amplement justifiées.

#### L'INFLUENCE AMÉRICAINE

Les nouvelles des Etats-Unis occupent une grande place dans nos journaux, ce qui est inévitable. Rien de plus normal que de s'intéresser à la vie politique, économique et sociale d'un peuple de 160 millions d'habitants qui vit tout près de nous, à qui nous sommes attachés par des liens d'amitié, d'affaires et de communauté d'idéal démocratique. Mais sa presse multiforme et admirablement équipée véhicule dans notre milieu, en même temps que le bon, le moins bon et le pire. C'est par ce qu'elle

offre de moins recommandable que la nôtre se laisse influencer et contaminer. Les crimes passionnels et les exploits de la pègre d'outre 45°, concurremment avec les étoiles du sport et du cinéma, obtiennent ainsi chez nous une publicité vraiment excessive. Si les journaux d'expression française résistent mieux à l'envahissement, grâce à la barrière de la langue, ils n'en subissent pas moins, eux aussi, le fâcheux contre-coup. On y trouve jusqu'à des pages entières—texte et illustrations—transposées toutes vives dans une traduction maladroite qui trahit son origine. Cette pâture littéraire de sixième ordre n'est pas faite pour relever le niveau de notre presse populaire.

L'infiltration américaine agit également, et d'une manière plus sournoise, au moyen de rubriques fournies par des agences sur les sujets les plus divers: hygiène, mode, soins de beauté, cuisine, etc. Grâce à leur bon marché, elles pénètrent jusque dans les journaux français, où on les dépiste aisément sous leur costume d'emprunt. Mais là où la presse canadienne ne se distingue plus du tout de sa grande sœur des Etats-Unis, c'est dans l'exploitation des fameux "comics", de marque exclusivement américaine. Tout journal canadien-français qui se pique d'être "moderne" a sa page quotidienne et son supplément hebdomadaire en couleurs de ces imageries enfantines ou grotesques, consacrées aux mirifiques exploits de surhommes et aux niaiseries bouffonnes d'innocents, que dévore une masse de lecteurs jeunes et vieux. Les expressions d'argot yankee y ont des équivalents français hautement fantaisistes. Comme leçon de langue pour la jeunesse, les "comics" représentent ce qu'il y a de pire au monde.

On s'est demandé s'il n'y aurait pas moyen, tout en faisant une concession au goût du public pour ce genre d'attraction, de recourir à des sources qui ne seraient pas abêtissantes. Certaines publications de France ont des pages illustrées intéressantes et instructives. Si nos journaux pouvaient s'y alimenter librement, ils y gagneraient beaucoup. Mais aucune organisation n'existe de ce côté ou ne semble de taille à affronter le redoutable monopole de nos voisins.

Il est incontestable que l'influence américaine sur notre presse se traduit surtout par une déformation de l'idéal français et canadien. Cela ne veut pas dire que tout en elle soit à condamner. En fait, on trouve aux Etats-Unis quelques-uns des quotidiens et des périodiques les plus complets et les plus parfaits du monde. Cette substance de choix est absorbée de quelque façon par nos journalistes; on peut la retracer ici et là sous la plume de rédacteurs d'éditoriaux, de critiques littéraires et artistiques, aussi bien que dans les pages destinées au foyer. Mieux encore, un magazine en langue française d'inspiration nettement américaine—*Sélection du Reader's Digest*—occupe au Canada une place qui lui fait honneur. Traduit de l'anglais de la première ligne à la dernière, il se compose d'extraits de revues américaines et canadiennes, les premières en

très grande majorité. Si extraordinaire que cela puisse paraître, c'est à une grande entreprise d'édition typiquement américaine que nous devons l'effort le plus considérable et le plus heureux pour doter le Canada d'une publication irréprochable sous le rapport de la pureté du français.

#### UN AVERTISSEMENT AMICAL

A côté de la presse anglo-canadienne, celle d'expression française devra lutter dans des conditions d'infériorité évidentes, tant que les dépêches des agences de nouvelles et une grosse partie de la documentation qu'elle utilise continueront de lui parvenir en anglais. On aurait tort, cependant, d'invoquer ce cas de force majeure comme excuse à une malfacon plus ou moins généralisée. Il serait beaucoup plus sage de s'attaquer résolument à cet obstacle pour en tirer le meilleur parti possible. Condenser les informations télégraphiques, souvent délayées, de manière à les présenter sous une forme claire et concise, serait du très bon travail journalistique, dans la meilleure tradition française. C'est là besogne de rédacteurs qui connaissent leur langue et ont le souci de l'écrire le plus correctement possible.

Il y a dix ans, un maître éminent de la Sorbonne, M. Charles Bruneau, donnait, comme conclusion à une série de causeries sur la grammaire et la linguistique, prononcées aux postes français de Radio-Canada, un précieux avertissement auquel on ne semble pas avoir accordé toute l'attention qu'il méritait:

*C'est, après l'école, qui a une influence considérable, mais éphémère, le journal qui est chargé de la noble mission de maintenir et d'étendre dans le grand public la connaissance de la langue française. Au Canada, le rôle du journal est donc prépondérant. A Paris, où le propriétaire d'un journal est un marchand de papier noirci, les défaillances de la langue ne font tort qu'au journaliste. Ici, le journal a en quelque sorte charge d'âmes: chaque faute de français est un crime contre votre race. En lisant certains journaux publiés dans l'Amérique du Nord, je pense à la terrible parole de Bossuet sur les "empoisonneurs publics, non des corps, mais des âmes"; chaque semaine, parfois chaque jour, dix mille, cent mille lecteurs puisent à pleines mains dans les colonnes de leur journal l'impropriété, le solécisme et le barbarisme. Ici, à Montréal, les journaux Le Devoir en particulier et Le Canada sont généralement corrects. Je dois être sévère, mais je veux être juste. Je lis habituellement le journal Le Canada: je suis heureux de constater publiquement qu'il m'arrive d'éplucher trois ou quatre numéros de suite sans trouver une seule faute grave. Mais noblesse oblige. Ce n'est pas assez, dans une maison, que le salon soit bien entretenu; il faut balayer les coins et les recoins, je veux dire les petites nouvelles et les annonces. Je le répète, les journaux canadiens-français sont, au Canada, les éducateurs des masses canadiennes et, à l'étranger, les porte-parole de la nation canadienne-*



*française: des millions d'étrangers, qui vous observent et vous épient, ne vous connaissent que par vos journaux. Un véritable ami du Canada, un véritable ami des journalistes canadiens dignes de ce nom a le devoir de dire ces choses.*

Cette page courageuse d'un "véritable ami du Canada" met le doigt sur le grand mal dont souffre notre presse de langue française. Aucun journaliste "digne de ce nom" ne saurait refuser d'y souscrire.

Existe-t-il un remède à la situation?

Le Canada français compte, Dieu merci, assez d'hommes et de femmes maîtres de leur langue, capables de fournir à tous les journaux des personnels de rédacteurs compétents. Si la profession ne les attire pas, ou ne sait pas les retenir, il faut s'en prendre à des conditions de travail défectueuses ou à une rémunération insuffisante.

Et au-dessus des ouvriers, il y a les têtes dirigeantes. Aucune entreprise, peut-être, ne demande plus de connaissances variées et d'expérience que la direction et l'administration d'un journal. Tous ceux qui ont réussi le doivent à un concours ininterrompu des efforts de cerveaux longuement préparés à cette tâche. Quand les patrons sont, par malheur, des hommes d'affaires qui n'entendent rien au journalisme, n'y voyant que des profits à retirer ou des déficits à combler, on peut présumer qu'ils comprendraient mal le langage d'un idéaliste comme M. Charles Bruneau, assignant aux journaux le rôle d'"éducateurs des masses canadiennes" et de "porte-parole de la nation canadienne-française à l'étranger". Pour convaincre ces honnêtes négociants qu'ils ont "en quelque sorte charge d'âmes", il faudrait qu'ils s'y sentent fortement poussés par l'opinion publique. Et de ce côté, avouons-le, c'est l'apathie complète.

Mais même si la situation apparaît presque sans issue, il n'y a pas lieu de se décourager. Le Canada français a vu surgir, depuis dix à quinze ans, des mouvements sauveurs—soudains et inespérés—qui ont opéré de petites révolutions dans certains secteurs: essor de la littérature, qui a mis en vedette quelques bons écrivains et suscité plusieurs vocations prometteuses; développement extraordinaire du goût musical parmi la jeunesse; affirmation de la peinture canadienne et des autres branches de l'art; ampleur inespérée de l'artisanat et de la petite industrie, qui ont révélé l'existence d'une culture canadienne-française nettement originale. Pour compléter le cycle de ces renouveaux féconds, il ne reste plus qu'à instaurer pour de bon le respect et le culte du français dans la vie pratique.

Ce travail nécessaire ne pourra s'accomplir sans le concours entier des journaux; ce sera leur œuvre propre. Le jour où une élite, convaincue du danger très réel de l'état de choses présent, se décidera à protester, à exiger des réformes et à persévérer dans son dessein, l'idée finira par s'imposer. La presse canadienne-française, qui a appris à servir toutes

les causes salutaires, embrassera avec enthousiasme la nouvelle croisade. C'est alors qu'elle remplira vraiment sa "noble mission de maintenir et d'étendre dans le grand public la connaissance de la langue française."

*(M. Donatien Frémont, de la Société royale du Canada, chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, a été journaliste pendant plusieurs années dans l'Ouest canadien.)*

## CANADIAN LETTERS

EDWARD McCOURT

### I

THE failure of Canadian writers to create a national literature of much significance to Canada or the rest of the world has, in the past half-century, been many times analysed. Numerous discussions have pointed to four factors as obvious deterrents to the development of creative writing in this country. They are the colonial spirit, the Canadian publisher, the Canadian reading public, and the Canadian critic. It is important that each of these four factors be examined in some detail, for by this time they have achieved something approaching classic status: they have been named deterrents so often and so violently that today we tend to accept them as such without question.

Colonialism in literature may be defined as a deferential spirit which acknowledges, as an act of faith, the superiority in all things literary of the Mother Country, and seeks no more than imitation of her models. It is not a spirit of emulation; the writer infected with colonialism does not attempt to write as well as Keats or Shelley or Scott; he attempts only a shadowy imitation. From this colonialism, scarcely one of our 19th century poets is free. Even in the at times inspired work of Roberts, Carman, Lampman and Scott, echoes of the English Romantics tend too often to subdue the original notes to the point of inaudibility. Among later poets Francis Sherman is a Pre-Raphaelite hardly once-removed; and Majorie Pickthall succumbs to the spell of a Celtic twilight which invests nearly all her work with an atmosphere utterly alien to her native environment.

That colonialism was still a menace to original creative writing in Canada no more than a decade ago is clear from the comments of a distinguished Old Country critic thoroughly familiar with our literature, the late John Buchan:

"The weakness, I think, of the poetry hitherto produced by the overseas Empire is that it has been too apt to borrow its idioms from the home country. Australian poetry, for all its admirable vigor, has in the past been inclined, even in the case of Adam Lindsay Gordon, to put its new wine into old bottles . . . The same thing was once true of South Africa, though it is less true today. Every part of the Commonwealth should have its own idiom, and I



want to see Canada provide its special version . . . The modes in which English poets have sung of the English tradition, and of the mellow English landscape, are not the best fitted for our prairies and forest and mountains and northern wilds, or for a young and adventurous people. Canada must make her own music. What is wanted, in the words of the Scriptures, is a 'new song to the Lord' ".<sup>1</sup>

All this is not to say that Canadian writers should ignore, or be ignorant of, great models. Much is to be learned from the masters. But the kind of slavish imitation which makes a poem or a novel the echo of another man's, which is inspired by a sense of fear and uncertainty and above all, inferiority, can never make a living literature. In a writer a sense of inferiority is a great evil. Even greater is the evil wrought by an attitude of mind which assumes the undesirability of anything beyond imitation, and thereby denies the significance of a native literature. And this beyond question was the prevailing attitude of mind in all but a few English-speaking Canadians down to nearly our own time. Nowhere does the Canadian critic of the 19th century protest Mathew Arnold's dictum that talk of a distinctive American literature is a manifest absurdity. Such an attitude works to the discouragement of all creative writing; because creative writing, in its very name, implies a process which can have no truck with mere imitation.

Colonialism is almost dead now, perhaps; but dying, it has begotten its own evil. We have not yet got cleanly away from the inevitable offspring of colonialism—a petty, self-conscious nationalism which for the past two decades has tended to dominate too much of our thinking about the creative arts. The cry, "Be Canadian!" still reverberates around us; but few of our literary critics who became particularly vocal after the Statute of Westminster have bothered to explain just what being Canadian in literature means. Generally, they seem to have associated the phrase with background; and until recently the writer who took pains to introduce a maple tree or beaver into his setting was fairly sure of getting credit marks from some critics, regardless of the quality of his art.

There is nothing, one suspects, that an agency of government might do to eliminate the residue of a decadent colonialism, or a naive nationalism which sees merit only in work which paints new colours on the maple. Nor should any such action be necessary, for it is reasonable to assume that in another two or three decades even the most conventional of our critics will have developed to the point where they will be able to discuss on a strictly artistic basis books written by Canadians, without being too much concerned about whether or not they are Canadian books.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>John Buchan, *Canadian Occasions*, Musson, Toronto, 1940, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup>Some of us merely take care to talk about Saskatchewan and Toronto, moose and trilliums which we may take to be the penny plain equivalent of the twopence

What about the Canadian publishing houses? Are they doing their fair share to foster our native literature? Before this question can be answered, the position of the Canadian publishing houses must be examined in some detail.

This position, a peculiar and equivocal one, has been severely criticized by Morley Callaghan, in an article written some years ago when Callaghan was probably suffering some pangs of unmerited neglect.

"The Canadian publisher operates under special conditions because he can remain in business as a distributor of fiction and never publish a work of fiction by a Canadian writer. Why should he take a chance on work he knows will be unprofitable, he may ask? Hasn't the most ambitious of Canadian publishers pointed out that his profits on Canadian literature amount to one per cent? So the publisher imports the fiction lists of the British and American publishers—and everyone is satisfied . . .

"Of course a publisher, reading this, is likely to jump and point with pride to the fiction he has published by Canadians. Of course, fiction by Canadians has been published in this country, but the chances are that it was published in some other country first. And saying this should not be construed as an attack on Canadian publishers. Any publisher in any country, if he is worth his salt and likes his trade, is eager to publish a book of his own choosing. Such eagerness, however, on the part of Canadian publishers, when they are dealing with Canadian fiction, has to be exhausted in the main, in a long-drawn-out sigh and a wistful smile . . .

"In their future defence it must be stated that it is practically impossible for them to sell a thousand copies of a novel by a Canadian even if they gamble and buy that many copies, so it is not even to be asked why they don't publish the thousand copies in this country. They can't do it without losing money. At least two thousand copies of a novel must be sold before the publisher breaks even on it, which is a pretty good explanation of why Canadian novels are not published by Canadian publishers."<sup>1</sup>

Since Callaghan wrote these words the position of the Canadian publishing house has not changed a great deal. Most firms enjoyed a boom of

coloured Mountie. Similarly, we adjust our poetic imagery so that it keeps nudging in the right direction . . . In this way we can take a story which might be located in New York, or Berlin, or better still, one which is really impossible to think of as taking place anywhere at all, and turn it into a regular piece of Canadian literature. The only trouble is that local colour (as we call it) tends to make a good deal of Canadian writing haunted by geography and wild life . . .

Perhaps one day we may reach the stage where the idea of a Canadian idiom will never be discussed; it will simply not arise in Canadian writers' minds. Then we can look again, because we will know we have found it. (Lister Sinclair, *A Canadian Idiom*, Here and Now, June, 1949.)

<sup>1</sup>*The Plight of Canadian Fiction*, University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. 7, pp. 157-59.

sorts during the war, but conditions are now showing a tendency to unhappy normalcy. Indeed, there are fears in some quarters that with the recent setting-up in this country of a British publishers' agency (which has deprived several Canadian firms of their exceedingly profitable commission sales) the plight of the Canadian houses may soon be worse than at any time since the depression.

It is of course impossible to understand the Canadian publisher's problem without close examination of the public to whom he caters. The Canadian reading public has been blamed—wholly or in part—by many authors and critics for the plight of Canadian letters:

"The Canadian public," wrote Frederick Phillip Grove, "is ignorant, cowardly and snobbish; it is mortally afraid of ideas and considers the discussion of first principles as a betrayal of bad manners.

Unless they are very sure that it is socially disgraceful not to own a given book, they refuse to buy it. If it is imperative, socially, that they are able to talk about it, they borrow it . . .

More appallingly, Canadians are at bottom not interested in their own country; I honestly believe they prefer to read about lords and dukes, or about the civil war in the United States. They are supposed to be born explorers; but they have not yet heard that the human heart and soul are perhaps the only corners in this universe where unexplored and undiscovered continents are still abounding."<sup>1</sup>

These are the angry words of an angry man. Sometimes the words spoken in anger are true. Are Mr. Grove's?

In a way of course he is right. The Canadian reading public is ignorant; it has no taste or opinions of its own; it does not discover genius of itself; it rarely creates a demand that surprises the publisher. But Mr. Grove is wrong in implying that the Canadian reading public is more ignorant, more cowardly, more snobbish than the reading public of other countries, particularly the United States. The truth is that all reading publics are more or less ignorant and cowardly in the sense that Mr. Grove uses these terms. For proof we have only to look at the enormous success—in the United States, England, South America and lately continental Europe—of the now almost countless Book Clubs. Such organizations, which arrogate the right to choose what their millions of subscribers read, could not possibly survive in any country where the reading public is bold, aggressive, highly literate, and independent in spirit.

And lest we assume, as we have tended to do for generations now, that the Old Country reading public is inevitably more intelligent, more alert to originality than our own, it is salutary—and perhaps comforting—to consider the evidence adduced from the *Hulton Survey* of 1948. Surveys

<sup>1</sup>*The Plight of Canadian Fiction?—A Reply*, University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. 7, pp. 459-460.



do not tell everything of course, but it is interesting to note that of the people in England who read newspapers—and not all of them do—50 per cent read the *News of the World*, 1.6 per cent *The Times*. A mass survey of Tottenham—not necessarily representative of all England!—revealed that “only half the people questioned claimed to read books at all”.<sup>1</sup>

But perhaps the most striking evidence of the close identity between Old Country and Canadian—one is tempted to say universal—reading tastes, is provided by the advice offered by one of the shrewdest of English journalists, Michael Josephs, to aspiring writers. Speaking about “getting on the right side of the Great British Public” he says: “Amuse it. Cheer it up. Chat to it. Confide in it. Give it now and again a good old cry. It loves that”.

One suspects that the Great British Public which Josephs here describes by implication would be no more likely than our own to win the approval of Mr. Grove.

By all odds the most serious charge made against Canadian readers is that they actually prefer books written by American and British writers to those of comparable merit by native talent. Sales statistics supplied by leading Canadian publishing houses seem at first glance to support the charge more than adequately. These figures indicate that in an average year Canadian books constitute at most from 20 per cent to 25 per cent of total sales in the Dominion. But, as the publishers are quick to point out, these figures give a misleading picture of the attitude of the Canadian public towards the native writer. One prominent publisher puts the case this way:

“I don’t think that a straight ratio of this kind tells a great deal . . . the fact [remains] that individual Canadian books sell reasonably well in Canada where factors of interest, literary quality, price and production are relatively the same as those of foreign books in the same season. That is a sweeping statement, but probably in recent seasons there have been one or two Canadian books near the top, if not at the top, of any all-Canadian best-seller list. If this is true then the over-all smallness of Canadian sales is to be explained in some other way than in simple market conditions. I think Canadian book production has something to do with it, and it is a problem that all Canadian publishers are giving thought to, but the real failure must still rest with the failure to date of any large group of Canadian authors to express this country to the Canadian people in any really arresting way.”

Comparative sales figures seem to sustain the publisher’s point. They indicate that worthwhile Canadian writers—Mazo de la Roche, W. O. Mitchell, Hugh MacLennan, Thomas Raddall, Earl Birney, etc.—sell just

<sup>1</sup>These figures are quoted from *The Reading Habit*, in *The Use of English*, Autumn, 1949. Published by the Bureau of Current Affairs, London.

as well in Canada as do the prominent American and British novelists. But they also make it clear that no Canadian writer can hope to live by the sale of his work in his own country.

It is some satisfaction to be able to exonerate the Canadian reading public from the charge of petty snobbishness which Grove and others have levelled at it. Nonetheless, it is evident that this public is of no great help to the native author, not because it is unduly ignorant or timid or Puritanical, but because it is small. We are becoming accustomed now to thinking of Canada as a nation of fourteen million people; but the actual reading public which an English-Canadian writer can reach constitutes only a fraction of that number. The size, nature and general inaccessibility of this reading public has never been described better than by Mr. B. K. Sandwell, replying, some fifteen years ago, to Mr. Stanley Unwin's statement that whereas "South Africa is a good market for English Books . . . New Zealand . . . is a wonderfully steady buyer of English Books . . . in proportion to its population Canada is a disappointing market".<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sandwell says:

"Mr. Unwin's figures on sales are presumably accurate, whatever they are. But are his figures on population accurate? Is he thinking of Canada as consisting of 10,400,000 people as shown by the census of 1931? If so he is overlooking the fact that only 5,900,000 of that number have English for their mother tongue. He is overlooking that fact that over half a million of these 5,900,000 are of non-British racial origin, and may not, unless they have been in the country for a considerable time, have acquired any lively taste for English literature. He is overlooking, in short, the fact that out of approximately ten and a half million people in Canada, about three millions are of French origin and intensely devoted to the French language; that nearly two millions are of continental origin other than French; and that only a little over five millions are consumers of English books in a sense which makes them comparable with the Australians or the inhabitants of the United Kingdom.

To the friends of literature, however, the consumption of books in English in Canada is 'disappointing' even for a population of five millions . . . The excuses are numerous. The most valid of them is the extreme thinness of population. Books are most easily sold in book-stores, and book-stores are only possible in places where there is a certain amount of literate population . . . A very substantial part of the population is not only domiciled in places which

<sup>1</sup>An examination of export markets undertaken by the British Publishers' Association in the spring of 1948 shows the relative value of overseas markets for British books to be as follows:

<i>Per cent of Total</i>			
Australia	22.471	India	6.872
U.S.A.	16.258	Canada	6.605
South Africa	8.536	All others	31.233
New Zealand	8.025		

could not maintain a book-store, but is so far away from a book-selling centre as never to visit it more than once in three or four years. Yet practically the whole of this population, inaccessible though it is to the book trade, is constantly reached and supplied by the rival purveyors of culture and entertainment, the cinema, the popular magazine and the radio. Australia with its one language, its uniform racial origin, and its high concentration in a few large cities, has an enormous advantage over Canada in this matter of physical distribution."<sup>1</sup>

Since Mr. Sandwell's article appeared, fifteen years ago, the population of Canada has risen by some three and one half millions; but the proportion of French and foreign-speaking peoples has slightly increased. The consumers of books written in English are still comparatively few in number and spread thinly over a wide area. But given a steady population increase, and an intensification of urban life, it is possible that Mr. Sandwell's guarded hope that in the future, "Mr. Unwin will find us distinctly less disappointing", may be realized.

The following conclusions about the Canadian reading public may safely be drawn: like nearly all reading publics it is highly susceptible to advertising, unsure of itself, without independent judgement; it reads approximately three books by British or American writers for every one by a native writer, but supports the individual native writer of merit at least as well as it supports the British and American writer; because of its small size and wide dispersion it does not buy enough books to make it even nearly possible for the Canadian writer to live on the proceeds of his work, or the Canadian publisher to profit much from the publication of Canadian books; hence the impossibility, under existing conditions, of creative writing becoming a full-time profession in Canada.

The dilemma of the Canadian publisher is obvious. In order to break even on the publication of a novel he must sell at least three thousand copies. But the possibilities of such a sale in Canada are seldom good. Hence the publisher is compelled to depend for his profits very largely on commission sales; and with the loss of some of these commissions his position becomes increasingly precarious.

In fairness to the publishers it must be concluded that in view of the unusual difficulties under which they operate they have done all that can be reasonably expected of them to help Canadian literature, and particularly poetry. The publication of poetry in this country is almost invariably a losing business, yet it is difficult to think of a single worthwhile Canadian poet who has not been issued in at least one slim volume. Perhaps a word of special commendation is here due to Dr. Lorne Pierce of the Ryerson Press who year in and year out over a period of three decades has per-

<sup>1</sup>*Canada—An Illiterate Nation?*, Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 43, pp. 38-43.



suaded his editorial board to publish a wide selection of native verse, no doubt sheer folly from the business point of view, but a tremendous stimulus to Canadian poetry.

Inadequate criticism as a possible deterrent to the development of a national literature does not call for extended comment. As might be expected, Frederick Philip Grove leads the attack on Canadian critics:

"I know of hardly one book-reviewer in Canada who, in judging a book not previously heralded by discussion in Great Britain or the United States, does not hopelessly flounder. The best that can be expected is a brief 'I like this' or 'I dislike it'; and almost invariably the reviewer likes what he should dislike and dislikes what he should like. Almost, I say; for even in drawing a card from a deck the chances are only one in two hundred and twenty that you draw an ace, but the chances are only one in two hundred and twenty that you draw two aces in succession. If among reviewers there is any kind of established background from which to arrive at a considered judgment, I have failed to find it."<sup>1</sup>

Admittedly, outside the university quarterlies, one or two newspapers, and the *avant-garde* publications which have a brief but by no means ineffectual day before they cease to be, most literary criticism in Canada is beneath contempt. But intelligent literary criticism is ordinarily the concomitant of a mature culture; and it has yet to be shown that lack of it seriously retards literary development. On behalf of the critics it might be argued that since criticism grows by what it feeds on, it is inevitable that in Canada its growth should be somewhat stunted.

## II

It would seem then, that while colonialism, petty nationalism, the publisher, the reader, the critic is each in some measure responsible for the lack of a national literature in Canada, a full explanation of the lack must involve consideration of factors apart from these things. Since the fall of Quebec, much of English-speaking Canada has been populated—if somewhat thinly—by a highly literate people, drawn in part from the educated classes of the Old Country, yet in its two hundred years of existence it has produced few good books and not a single great one. What is true of literature is true of all the creative arts. When all possible allowance has been made for the difficulties under which the creative artist in Canada works, it seems strange indeed that no one of outstanding talent has spoken in a voice to catch the ear of the world. The apologists for our cultural poverty are quick to point out that we export our best talent, that our really competent writers and artists, disgusted by their reception

<sup>1</sup>*The Plight of Canadian Fiction?—A Reply*, University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. 7, pp. 458-459.

here in Canada, simply pack up and go elsewhere, usually to the United States. But there is no very convincing evidence to support this contention. During the present century a few Canadian poets and novelists have gone to the United States to live, but none of them, except Morley Callaghan during his brief sojourn, has written anything which suggests that Canada has been greatly the loser. The truth is that most of our writers who go to the United States do so because they are attracted by the slick magazine and Hollywood markets. In general, it may be said that what they write is worthy of their objective.

A full understanding of the comparative backwardness of our literary development demands first of all an understanding of our history. On the face of things there seems no reason why countries smaller than we are—Ireland, Norway, Denmark, etc.—or countries not much older—notably the U.S.—should have so far surpassed us in the development of a national culture. Canada, we feel, is now a major nation; and the desirability of possessing a distinctive national culture has become a matter of governmental concern. If we have read our literary histories we know how Canadian literature should have developed: first, poetry, then expansion into other fields of creative literary expression—drama, prose fiction, belles lettres; and in the end a body of written work which at its highest level is universal in significance, but in all its parts taking from its environment a distinctive colouring which stamps it as the peculiar product of a peculiar people. Even John Buchan was merely repeating this popular conception of literary development when he said that “it is in poetry that we must build the foundations of that distinguished contribution which I believe Canada is destined to make to the literature or the world”.<sup>1</sup>

But in assuming that in Canada the development of creative literature must follow an established historic pattern we ignore the fact that the political and social development of Canada is unique. To suggest, therefore, that Canadian literature should follow a course of development observable in Greece, England, France—indeed, all countries of primitive origins and long memory—is to show ignorance of our own history. Other nations have, like Canada, risen from colonial status to independence; but no other has been so overshadowed in the course of its progress by the presence of a usually friendly but none the less alien neighbour, speaking the same language, ten times greater in population, immeasurably wealthier, more powerful. Thus the independent spirit which normally accompanies emergence from colonial status has to a large degree been nullified. We have been over-awed by the spectacular material achievements of the United States; the imitative tendency, so obvious in the colonial era, has merely changed the object of its focus.

<sup>1</sup>Buchan, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

Moreover, the settlement of Canada with a heterogeneous population drawn from many sources has not been accompanied—as it has been in the United States—by historic events likely to create in that population much sense of unity, much pride of nationhood. Confederation and the Statute of Westminster are dull and undramatic by comparison with Plymouth Rock and Valley Forge; and the MacKenzie-Papineau revolt can hardly compete on even terms with Gettysburg.

### III

What has been the general effect on the Canadian citizen of a rather stultified national development which has taken place under the protective but by no means disinterested dominance, first of a mother country, later of a powerful and wealthier neighbour? What is the character of the man we call Canadian? Is he a man able or likely to create a worthwhile national culture?

The Canadian character, insofar as it is determinable, seems to have in it a good deal to praise. But the commendable qualities which our ablest critics profess to find in the typical Canadian are nearly all of a negative kind. The Canadian, we are told, is less aggressive, less boastful, less cocksure than the American; less insular than the Englishman; less phlegmatic than the German; less volatile than the Frenchman; less sentimental than the Irishman; less edgy than the Australian. The Right Honourable Vincent Massey, perhaps the most sympathetic of his critics, describes the Canadian in this way:

“In London during the war years were to be seen servicemen greater in numbers and diversity than had ever assembled there before. They came from many different countries and revealed the fact. Among them were thousands of uniformed men who would have puzzled an observer of a generation or two ago. They resembled in many ways both Englishmen and Americans, but they could not have been mistaken for either. They were Canadians, and with a very small margin of error one could spot them in the streets as such long before their badges could be identified. They could not have come from anywhere but Canada. Something in their bearing told the story—a combination of qualities—on the one hand a naturalness and freedom of movement, a touch of breeziness and an alertness which suggested the new world. They also showed self-control, an air of discipline and good manners, and they generally took some trouble about their appearance. They were rarely found lounging; they seemed always to have some purpose in mind.”<sup>1</sup>

But Mr. Massey hastens to add: “We have never suffered from being too sure of ourselves. Our faults indeed lie in the other direction.”

<sup>1</sup>Vincent Massey, *On Being Canadian*, Dent, London, and J. M. Dent and Son (Canada Ltd.), 1948, p. 3.



In other words, the Canadian suffers, without realising that he does so, from an ingrained sense of inferiority which is the inevitable consequence of history and geographical relationships. The result is a character distinguished by many of the minor virtues, and an absence of the major vices, but lacking that confidence in itself which is essential to great achievement. The conclusion of most of his acute observers seems to be that the typical Canadian is a thoroughly nice fellow who makes a virtue of moderation; who dislikes the bumptious self-assertiveness of the American though he envies his material success. He is reticent, a little Puritanical perhaps, and decidedly unsure of himself. He takes no great pride in being Canadian; he accepts the fact without regret but is seldom disposed to shout it to the world.

All this should mean that Canadians are pleasant people to live with. It also means that we are hardly likely to create great art. Unquestionably the American sense of nationhood, unfortunate though some of its manifestations have been, has, ever since the Revolution, contributed greatly to the creation of a distinctive national literature. The artist may be unaware or even bitterly critical of all manifestations of nationalism; but he thrives in the atmosphere which goes to the shaping of a great nation; for he is himself a leader. But the Canadian writer—and in this he reflects Canada as a whole—has never taken the lead; he follows trends and tendencies first apparent outside his own country. In the words of one critic, he shows a deplorable tendency to climb aboard the band-wagon just when the parade is breaking up.

It is significant that until quite recently the work of our best artists has been concerned almost wholly with Canadian scenery, rarely with Canadian people. Consider the distinguished work of the Group of Seven. How often does a human being appear in their canvasses? Commenting on this curious absence of humanity from Canadian art, Mr. B. K. Sandwell says:

"Canadian painting has recently achieved a more definitely national (or regional) character, by attaching itself very strongly to that particular type of scenery characteristic of the Great Canadian Shield or Laurentian Plateau . . . a type which is not quite duplicated anywhere else, and which has to be drastically simplified in order to render it pictorial . . . It is a landscape which owes nothing of its character to human occupation, and it seems to have diverted the interest of the more specifically Canadian painters away from human subject matter, though since the depression began there have been signs of a movement towards pictures of 'social significance' "<sup>1</sup>

Similarly the poets of the "Sixties"—Lampman, Roberts, Carman,

<sup>1</sup>B. K. Sandwell, *The Canadian Peoples*, Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1941, p. 118.

Scott—a mighty force in the shaping of such literature as exists in Canada, derive inspiration for their best poems from the Canadian landscape. And until the last twenty years or so the Canadian novelist, who of all creative artists should be most concerned with the study of character, has deliberately shied away from the realistic depiction of his own people. How else can we account for the plethora of historical novels which exist in this country out of all reasonable proportion to the contemporary, than by assuming that the novelist finds the Canadian of his own time—that is, the real Canadian, not one transfigured by the magic of time and distance—uninteresting and dull?

Mr. Bruce Hutchinson, one of the most acute observers of the native scene, suggests that our lack of interest in ourselves, our almost studied avoidance of the intimate and spectacular in life and literature, makes us, in the eyes of everyone including ourselves, a dull people. Says Mr. Hutchinson:

“It is a startling fact that we know more about Roosevelt, a few years after his death, than we know about Sir John A. MacDonald after half a century, that of Mr. McKenzie King we really know nothing at all because we have never inquired.

In one sense, the Canadian insistence on protection for the private lives of public men is admirable. We are one of the few nations which stand for decent privacy and against the universal conspiracy of keyhole peeping.

On the other hand, no era of history can be fully understood without a full knowledge of the men who dominated it. You might say, for example, that the English civil war cannot be understood unless we know the solemn absurdity of James Stuart any more than the American civil war can be understood unless we know the mystical nature of Abraham Lincoln.

Before we boast about our superior self-restraint, however, we should observe how ravenously we read about the secrets of others. All Canadians are eager to learn the most sacred details of Roosevelt's life, or Mr. Churchill's, while Mr. King a year out of office, is almost forgotten . . . . In the Canadian reticence there is thus a good deal of hypocrisy, like a Sunday in Toronto. In any case we do not know a single Canadian, alive or dead, as other peoples know their great men. This undoubtedly has convinced most of our children—utterly bored by what they find in history books—that there have been no Canadians worth knowing.

We have denatured our history, squeezed all the juice out, hidden the actors behind official masks and produced such a pallid show that we turn to other countries in search of adventure when our life has consisted of nothing else. We are, I suppose, a dull people by nature but we are not that dull”.<sup>1</sup>

The sense of spiritual dependence which seems almost the hallmark

<sup>1</sup>*Canadian Reticence*, The Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix*, Dec. 5, 1949.

of the Canadian has a crippling effect on the native writer, because he is himself Canadian. The aggressive, daring, original spirit, "exposing what is mortal and unsure to all that fortune, death and danger dare, even for an eggshell", exists too rarely among us; but this is precisely the kind of spirit that great art demands. In far too much of what Canadian authors have written about themselves there is the underlying assumption that as artists they are thereby entitled to freedom from the ordinary petty necessity of earning a living. This is not to say that literature is the product of border-line existence in a garret room, only that in countries where great art flourishes we find many writers who are prepared, for the sake of what they write, to risk such an existence.

In Canada, Frederick Philip Grove is almost the only writer who staked virtually everything on his art. That he may have over-estimated the value of that art is beside the point. With actually limited talent for the medium in which he chose to express himself, confident to the point of arrogance, through self-sacrifice touching at times the exalted level of heroism he fought adversity and hostile criticism and neglect to the bitter and tragic end. It is easy, of course, to point to scores of instances in Grove's writing where his condemnation of the Canadian reading public, Canadian critics, Canadian publishers, descends to a level of petty querulousness, but once at least he spoke words which every would-be Canadian writer might well take to heart:

"Many who have done things have starved; no doubt many more who are doing things are starving. Does it matter? What matters is that the things they do be done.

What should worry the writer is not whether his work will bring him success. What should worry him is whether his work is what it is humanly possible to make it. Meanwhile, let him shovel coal if he has to. That is the trouble with us: living in a great material civilization not of our making, not fought for, not evolved out of the sweat and blood of our limbs, not paid for with our suffering, our lives, our triumphs—living in such a civilization, I say, we crave material comfort rather than spiritual achievement. If there were more Canadian writers shovelling coal, to remain in my metaphor, perhaps we should feel that no matter what we have done in the past, there is glory to come . . . for what today we fatuously call Canadian literature; and the plight of Canadian fiction would not exist; for, whether a work of art be printed in Canada or in Timbuktu, it is to-day bound to conquer the world that has shrunk—though not, perhaps, within the lifetime of its maker".<sup>1</sup>

It is significant that Grove, a foreigner by birth and upbringing—he did not come to Canada till early manhood—found in the Canadian no sense of achievement, no will to sacrifice on behalf of an ideal, sacrifice

<sup>1</sup>*The Plight of Canadian Fiction?—A Reply*, University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. 7, pp. 465-466.



which in the writer means willingness to chance something—or everything—for the sake of his art.

Not that we expect our writers to starve. But there would be reassurance in the knowledge that some of them were willing to run the risk.

It seems unlikely that among our writers a more independent, adventurous attitude will develop in the near future. With the example of a powerful materialistic society on our border, ever extending its dominance over us, the desire to accumulate the material things which Grove so contemptuously dismisses is certain to grow stronger. Nor is the compensating factor of pride in nationhood and in the cultural achievements of our people to be found in us. So it is that the Canadian writer, enviously contemplating the—to him—staggering sales of an American run-of-the-mill success, the fat check handed out—but not to him— by *Collier's* or the *Saturday Evening Post* for a slick, custom-tailored short story, dazzled by the fabulous fortunes allegedly made in Hollywood, all too frequently either packs up and goes across the line, or stays at home and joins the numerous company of Canadian writers who bear their country a bitter grudge.

The Right Honourable Vincent Massey comments on the fact that professors and teachers are entering the field of creative writing in ever-increasing numbers. Most contemporary Canadian poets belong to the teaching profession—Earl Birney, A. J. M. Smith, E. J. Pratt, Patrick Anderson, Neuville Shaw, James Reaney, Roy Daniells, Robert Finch, George Herbert Clarke, to name a few who are outstanding; and a surprising number of novelists including W. G. Hardy, Birney again, Constance Beresford-Howe, Christine Van Der Mark, Henry Kreisel and—until recently, Hugh MacLennan and W. O. Mitchell. "This speaks wells for our universities," says Mr. Massey. "One is glad to feel that Pegasus is not constrained by his academic harness".<sup>1</sup> But the remarkable dominance of the teaching profession in the field of creative writing suggests the disquieting possibility that they possess the field because it has largely been abandoned to them. A professor is rooted in a position which allows him some leisure time in which to write poetry—possibly as relaxation—or a novel which, he hopes, will help to supplement his rather meager income. He adopts as part-time work what few dare risk as a career. Certainly there is an increasing tendency on the part of Canadians to look upon the creative arts as spare-time pursuits. Such an attitude makes the creation of vital art all but impossible.

#### IV

The support of the artist, and the stimulation of interest in the creative arts, are not ordinarily the tasks of government. True, some governments

<sup>1</sup>Massey, op. cit., p. 36.

do exert themselves slightly in these directions; in England and certain of the continental countries the Civil lists or their equivalent provide grants for worthy but impoverished artists. In England, Joseph Conrad has been the most outstanding Civil Lists beneficiary of modern times. Today the British government provides a substantial yearly grant for the fostering of the arts; but most of the grant is given in support of group enterprises—theatre, ballet, etc. Possibly there is something to be said for a government assuming the role once filled by the great individual patrons of the arts; none the less, it is probably correct to say that had the Civil Lists never existed, English literature would have been substantially the same as it is today.

But since conditions in Canada are clearly such that the creative artist has little chance to survive on the proceeds of his work, it may be that a case can be made for direct government assistance, possibly in the form of grants which will assure the completion of worthwhile work already under way. At present a limited number of Guggenheim Foundation Fellowships are available to Canadians. So far the trustees have shown unusual wisdom in the selection of beneficiaries. Among others, Hugh MacLennan, Roger Lemelin, Douglas Le Pan and A. J. M. Smith have each been given a year or two of comparative freedom from material worries, during which they have been able to devote all their time to creative work. The results have been distinctly gratifying. Might it not be possible, therefore, for the Canadian government to establish a similar system of fellowships for the purpose of subsidizing young writers and artists who have already proved their competence, who are prepared to go on making sacrifices for the sake of their art, but who would benefit—as the Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship holders have so obviously benefited—from a year or several years of freedom to concentrate on work in hand?

Should government aid go beyond grants to individuals who have already proved their worth? No doubt various briefs presented to the Commission have advocated protectionist policies for various Canadian publishing enterprises, and no doubt the Commissioners have asked themselves: "Have we anything to protect?" The book publishers may have a case of sorts; but there seems little to be said for the rendering of any kind of government aid to most popular Canadian periodicals. With one or two honourable exceptions, these publications seem to have no other purpose in view than the imitation, down to the last petty detail, of successful American models.

There is, however, a periodical of different stamp which appears spasmodically among us, and after a brief and flustered existence disappears—the so-called little magazine. The little magazine is, in nearly all countries, defiantly *avant-garde*; it is precocious, revolutionary, often

snobbish. But, significantly, it has fostered a large number of genuinely creative artists, particularly poets. In Canada the little magazine, nearly always the publication of a small, irritatingly self-assured, and genuinely talented group, has for obvious reasons an unusually short and troubled life. But many of our best poets and some of our best prose writers have made their first appearance in the pages—frequently mimeographed—of *Preview*, *First Statement*, *Contemporary Verse*, *Northern Review*, *Here and Now*, etc. Of the little magazine the average reader knows nothing; but it performs, while it lasts, a very real service to Canadian letters. It gives the man who thinks he has something to say—and very often he has—a chance to say it; and it provides the best literary criticism to be found in Canada.

It is popularly believed that the editor of a little magazine would scornfully reject an offer of government aid. It might be worthwhile to give him the chance.

Up to the present time the creative literature of Canada has contributed little to a sense of national unity because it has tended to be regional in character. The English-Canadian writer writes for English-Canadian readers, the French-Canadian for French-Canadian readers. Because of the barrier of language no one, it seems, writes for Canadians. Little of French-Canadian literature exists in an English translation, still less of English-Canadian in French. The reluctance of the publisher to issue translations is understandable, for they are usually dubious business investments. Yet it is safe to say that a book such as *Maria Chapdelaine* has done at least as much as the rhetoric of statesmen to bring about some measure of understanding between the two great branches of the Canadian community.

Here surely is a situation where some form of government subsidy might be used with practical effectiveness for the purpose of "increasing in Canadians an awareness of their membership in the Canadian community." If the best of French-Canadian literature—a literature surprisingly rich and varied—were made available in cheap translations, the rest of Canada would quickly learn that the arts of Quebec were not confined to rug-making. Similarly, the translation into French of the best English-Canadian literature might convince the French-Canadian that the attitude of his neighbour towards him was something less than hostile. Such a two-way exchange of the best books in both languages might prove of no great cost in dollars and cents, and would immeasurably help to create, through mutual understanding, that sense of unity which now exists precariously if at all.

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## LA LITTÉRATURE

RENÉ GARNEAU

### LITTÉRATURE NATIONALE

C E n'est pas d'hier que se pose le problème d'une littérature nationale au Canada. Crémazie l'a discuté pour son temps en y donnant une réponse qui, aux yeux de plusieurs d'entre nous, reste encore valable. Ne prétendait-il pas que "l'apport du Canada de langue française est destiné à grossir et à enrichir le large courant de la littérature française"? Mgr Camille Roy est revenu à plusieurs reprises sur le sujet et des historiens canadiens de langue anglaise se sont interrogés de leur côté sur la possibilité d'une littérature nationale d'expression anglaise au Canada. Aujourd'hui c'est à l'occasion des progrès de notre pays dans la voie de l'indépendance politique et de sa maturité économique, donc à l'occasion de phénomènes extra-littéraires, que l'on se demande encore une fois, et avec plus de rigueur dans le raisonnement qu'autrefois, s'il est légitime de parler de littérature nationale au Canada.

Que ce soit sous l'influence de données politiques et économiques que l'on en vienne à examiner de nouveau cette question, c'est là un élément qui en complique la discussion. Des considérations indépendantes de la littérature s'y mêlent. Comme le diraient les psychologues dans leur langage savant, il y a ici transfert d'émotion, certains sentiments qui s'appliquent d'une façon fort appropriée dans l'ordre politique s'exerçant d'une façon beaucoup moins appropriée dans l'ordre littéraire. L'optique en est faussée. De plus est-on bien sûr que ce problème est posé d'une façon claire et complète?

Par exemple, ne devrait-on pas examiner d'abord si, par ce terme de littérature nationale, on veut signifier en bloc et indifféremment les secteurs anglais et français de nos lettres. On rejetterait tout de suite cette conception totale de l'expression puisque la structure même du Canada moderne, qui repose sur la fidélité du groupe français et du groupe anglais à des origines ainsi qu'à des traditions linguistiques différentes, rend impossible au Canada l'existence d'une littérature nationale qui ne soit pas nettement différenciée. Mais, ne serait-ce que pour l'éliminer, on devrait au moins mentionner cet aspect de la question.

En second lieu et par voie de conséquence, il faudrait se demander s'il est légitime d'appeler littérature nationale, et cela au même titre, chacune

des deux branches anglaise et française (et ce ne sont même pas des branches puisque ces deux littératures ne sortent pas du même tronc) de nos lettres canadiennes? On n'a pas suffisamment éclairci cet autre point comme s'il était reconnu d'emblée que deux littératures nationales pouvaient coexister et avancer parallèlement au sein de la même nation. "Notre littérature existe" écrivait Mgr Camille Roy dans son *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* (1918). De toute évidence c'était à une littérature canadienne de langue française, complètement indépendante de la littérature canadienne de langue anglaise qui pouvait aussi bien exister concurremment, qu'il pensait. Pour cette école de pensée il pourrait donc exister deux littératures nationales au Canada.

Il y a trop d'imprévu dans l'évolution des peuples pour qu'il soit impossible d'imaginer en théorie qu'une nation ait deux littératures nationales, ou même qu'il ne puisse s'élaborer quelque jour, dans un autre pays que le Canada, une littérature nationale répartie entre deux branches croissant indépendamment l'une de l'autre et aussi vivaces l'une que l'autre. Je crois cependant que, dans le cas d'un pays comme le nôtre, non seulement il ne peut y avoir une seule littérature nationale embrassant les deux domaines français et anglais mais même qu'il serait téméraire de parler, au moins pour le moment, de deux littératures nationales correspondant aux deux langues entre lesquelles nos écrivains canadiens se répartissent. Bien plus, à cause de la puissance d'attraction des deux littératures française et anglaise, dont nos écrivains s'inspirent et avec lesquelles ils rivaliseront tant qu'ils tiendront à écrire en français et en anglais, il me semble en effet qu'il faudra des siècles de production intense, ici même, pour qu'on puisse parler au Canada de littérature nationale d'expression française qui soit vraiment différenciée de la littérature de la France, et de littérature nationale d'expression anglaise absolument différente de la littérature de l'Angleterre.

Notre littérature canadienne-française serait-elle donc astreinte à rester une province littéraire de la France, comme c'est le cas de la littérature belge ou suisse de langue française qui ne sont pas autre chose qu'un prolongement de la France littéraire au delà de ses frontières? Nous répondrons à cette question aux dernières pages de cette étude. Ce que l'on sait d'expérience au moins, depuis qu'il y a des Canadiens qui écrivent, c'est que certaines constantes de notre organisation nationale, parmi lesquelles apparaît au premier rang une fidélité de bon aloi à nos origines, —et ceci s'applique au groupe anglais comme au nôtre,—semblent devoir retarder encore longtemps l'avènement d'une littérature canadienne indépendante qui présenterait en elle-même ces caractères de puissante individualité et qui aurait cette force de rayonnement à l'extérieur que l'on retrouve généralement dans une littérature nationale. Mais voyons un peu plus à fond ce qu'est une littérature nationale.

A première vue, on pourrait croire qu'une suite d'oeuvres où l'on retrouverait certains traits moraux communs à un groupe ethnique donné, et où les descriptions de nature se réduiraient à la notation de quelques détails caractéristiques du paysage de tel pays devraient suffire à constituer la littérature nationale de ce groupe et de son pays. C'était ainsi que Mgr Camille Roy comprenait la "nationalisation" de la littérature canadienne d'expression française lorsqu'il écrivait: "Nos historiens, nos poètes, nos romanciers, nos chroniqueurs de toutes sortes, ont donc largement puisé aux sources vives de l'inspiration canadienne; ils ont fait surgir du terroir les plus belles fleurs de notre littérature".

Ces "fleurs" hélas se sont vite fanées, et le résidu qu'elles ont laissé n'a pas été très fertile. C'est qu'une littérature nationale est tout autre chose qu'une collection de lieux communs "nationaux" auxquels il suffirait qu'un écrivain empruntât, comme on emprunte à un magasin d'accessoires, pour donner à son oeuvre la chaleur de la vie et des gages de durée.

Sans doute une critique superficielle n'a-t-elle pas hésité à célébrer, comme une manifestation du tempérament canadien, des livres où les vertus d'initiative et d'endurance des pionniers de l'Ouest et des paysans de Québec étaient directement ou symboliquement glorifiées. N'a-t-il pas suffi à nos écrivains de dresser leurs personnages dans des bourrasques d'hiver, de décrire une débâcle ou une messe de minuit, odorante de réveillons prochains, pour se voir accorder un certificat de canadianisme? Bref on continue à penser dans plusieurs milieux que certains particularismes moraux, baignés dans une dose appréciable de couleur locale, suffisent pour créer de toutes pièces une littérature nationale. Dans de telles conditions, la mise en train d'une littérature nationale serait une entreprise à la portée du premier écrivain venu.

Une littérature nationale n'est pas le résultat de manoeuvres artificielles. Elle exige des siècles d'élaboration. Sa gestation peut être arrêtée par de nombreuses circonstances indépendantes des écrivains eux-mêmes. On faisait allusion plus haut à des circonstances de ce genre en rappelant la dualité ethnique et linguistique du peuple canadien, dualité qui, semble-t-il, se perpétuera même si nous devons la payer du prix d'une littérature. D'autre part les références au passé, la soumission aux traditions, l'évocation des traits spirituels d'un peuple, la description des particularités d'un paysage sont loin d'être suffisantes pour donner un caractère national à une littérature. Ces petites opérations, qui tiennent du métier d'encadreur plutôt que de l'art de la composition, peuvent même nuire à l'accession d'une littérature à l'état de littérature nationale.

Si paradoxal que cela paraisse, je dirai qu'une littérature ne peut être considérée comme l'expression originale d'une nation qu'à partir du moment où cette littérature compte en tant que témoignage auprès des autres nations. Ce serait donc lorsqu'elle a prise sur l'universel, lorsqu'elle



a assez de résonance humaine et de valeur esthétique pour éveiller l'intérêt et susciter l'admiration des autres peuples, et qu'elle sait en même temps exprimer le tempérament particulier du peuple dont elle est l'émanation, et seulement à partir du moment où elle remplit ces deux conditions fondamentales, qu'une littérature peut être dite nationale.

C'est dire que plus un écrivain cède à la tentation du particulier, du régional et de la couleur locale, moins il "fait véritablement national". André Gide écrivait en 1898 que "le déracinement peut être une école de vertu", en prenant ce mot dans son acception latine. Le génie d'une nation s'enrichit sûrement de l'expérience humaine, des récoltes diverses que les écrivains vont cueillir dans les terres étrangères avec lesquelles ils peuvent avoir des affinités pour toutes sortes de raisons personnelles ou collectives.

En fin de compte une littérature nationale ne serait-elle pas celle qui a su gagner auprès de l'étranger et non pas contre lui, ni nécessairement avec lui, la bataille intellectuelle du pays dont elle traduit l'esprit et exprime les aspirations?

Mener une bataille, engager une partie, cela suppose dans les deux camps l'usage d'armes de valeur à peu près égale. Une littérature qui s'isolerait dans sa sphère nationale, qui se replierait sur elle-même et qui concentrerait son effort sur des particularités locales et des valeurs provisoires et passagères serait, en regard des grandes littératures nationales, dans le cas d'un partenaire qui se servirait d'arquebuses vis-à-vis d'un combattant qui recourrait aux armes modernes.

Le terrain où se joue la partie à laquelle toute littérature nationale a l'ambition d'apporter sa contribution a été choisi depuis l'Antiquité: c'est l'homme. La dénomination de ce terrain a pu changer; on l'a appelé la destinée humaine; l'âme; les mystères de la sensibilité; aujourd'hui on dit plutôt la condition humaine et c'est d'ailleurs l'honneur d'André Malraux d'avoir trouvé une dénomination générale qui convient aussi bien à 1950 qu'à 1935. Mais, dans la condition humaine, c'est l'homme que l'on continue à chercher avec autant d'angoisse, tout au moins de curiosité, depuis les tragiques grecs jusqu'aux romanciers modernes. Et les thèmes généraux de cette recherche n'ont guère plus changé que l'objet même de la recherche. C'est par la considération du comportement humain vis-à-vis de la mort, de la liberté, de la souffrance, de la justice, de l'amour, que l'on espère encore accéder à la connaissance de l'homme. Tout ce qui varie c'est la lumière dans laquelle on les considère et qui oscille selon les circonstances de l'époque.

Pour qu'une littérature ait prise sur l'universel, pour qu'une littérature existe—et ce n'est que dans ce cas qu'on peut parler de littérature nationale,—il faut donc qu'elle consente à jouer sa partie sur le terrain commun à l'humanité, en traitant de thèmes universels et cela dans l'éclairage de l'époque. De Montaigne et Racine à Gide, Malraux et Camus (je

limite ma nomenclature à des Français parce que nous nous occupons ici d'une littérature d'expression française ou plutôt d'une branche de la littérature française) tous les grands écrivains de la France ont consenti à jouer la partie sur le terrain de l'homme, en essayant chacun de répondre aux exigences de la sensibilité de leur époque et avec les moyens du bord. En apportant des réponses personnelles aux questions que l'on se posait et que l'on se pose encore universellement à propos de l'homme, ils ont élaboré une littérature nationale et cette littérature a obtenu à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur un prestige d'autant plus considérable qu'elle avait plus de résonance universelle.

A ce point de vue, le mieux qu'on puisse dire de la littérature canadienne d'expression française, c'est qu'elle a négligé traditionnellement de répondre à des questions qui intéressaient l'homme; que la plupart de nos écrivains ont écrit en marge de leur époque et qu'à force de s'hypnotiser comme elle l'a fait sur des questions d'intérêt immédiat et particulier cette littérature s'est privée de résonance profonde à l'intérieur et de portée à l'étranger.

On dira qu'il y a de sérieuses explications à cette situation, que la littérature, dans les milieux français du Canada, a dû être pendant longtemps une arme de combat quotidien, qu'à certains moments de notre histoire nos écrivains, et tout particulièrement nos historiens, devaient se préoccuper beaucoup plus de la survivance du Canadien dans son milieu national que du sort de l'homme dans son époque.

C'est exact mais il n'empêche que cette fonction que l'écrivain a dû remplir dans la cité l'a retenu trop loin de ces problèmes humains plus larges qui intéressaient les civilisations plus avancées que la nôtre. Il n'y avait pas d'incompatibilité entre les problèmes de la liberté ou de la justice, tels qu'ils pouvaient se poser il y a une centaine d'années au Canada de langue française, et les questions du même ordre qui occupaient l'attention des grands écrivains européens dans le même temps. Les très belles pages qu'Alfred de Vigny écrivit pour lui seul, vers 1840, sur *Les Français au Canada* et qui n'ont été publiées que tout récemment en France, indiquent dans quel sens nos écrivains de combat auraient pu, dès ce moment, relier leurs préoccupations canadiennes à celles de l'époque: "Isolés par quatre-vingts ans de séparation de la mère-patrie et ne comprenant rien à notre monde nouveau qui a remplacé en France celui qu'ils connaissaient et dont leur petit monde est resté la copie et le satellite isolé, les Canadiens n'ont plus de littérature ni de théâtre, et l'ignorance complète leurs misères".

Alfred de Vigny touchait déjà le mal du doigt. Enfermés dans la sphère des préoccupations locales; réduisant ces problèmes particuliers, qui auraient pu avoir une incidence générale, aux dimensions de la chambre close où ils se repliaient sur eux mêmes, les premiers écrivains canadiens

d'expression française ne surent pas voir le double avantage politique et littéraire qu'il y aurait eu pour eux à transposer leur combat d'idées sur le plan universel en le rattachant aux grands courants qui remuaient l'Europe. De 1820 à 1860, ils pouvaient jeter les bases d'une littérature nationale en construisant, entre le Canada de langue française et le reste du monde, ces ponts qui auraient relié nos lettres aux autres grandes littératures. Ils manquèrent l'occasion de placer les questions dans lesquelles ils étaient engagés sur le large terrain de l'homme. Ils restèrent dans le particulier, le local, le canadien. Au lieu d'une littérature nationale, nous eûmes des chuchotements de village.

De fait, une seule voix s'éleva, à ce moment, qui pouvait éveiller des échos universels, celle de l'historien Garneau, dont certaines pages nous portent à croire qu'il aurait pu imprimer à notre chronique historique un élan qui l'aurait rapprochée des grands mouvements des écoles historiques d'Europe. Mais il était alors le seul de nos écrivains de langue française à savoir penser ces problèmes canadiens au delà des cadres étroits du milieu, le seul aussi à avoir un talent réel d'écrivain. Garneau a fait ce qu'il a pu pour donner une valeur nationale à notre littérature en ramenant notre histoire sur le plan humain, mais ce n'est pas là une entreprise qui peut être menée à bonne fin par un écrivain solitaire et dans le seul champ de l'histoire.

Après Garneau, de 1860 à 1900, nous ne relevons dans notre histoire littéraire aucune oeuvre où l'étranger aurait pu découvrir quelque marque d'une contribution originale au progrès de l'esprit humain et où le Canadien aurait pu trouver, en même temps, le signe authentique de la naissance d'une littérature originale chez nous. Perdus dans la nostalgie de la France "sur nos bords"; accaparés par le quotidien; incapables, semble-t-il, de considérer l'homme autrement que dans son milieu immédiat d'évolution (l'homme pour eux était une armoire à vieux souvenirs); réduits à l'exploitation de pieuses coutumes traditionnelles; naturellement plus occupés à recueillir ce que les Canadiens de langue française pouvaient conserver du passé qu'à étudier comment une littérature française du Canada pouvait s'infiltrer dans le mouvement littéraire de l'époque, nos auteurs ne produisirent que des oeuvres assourdies, dont aucune lumière ne pouvait rayonner.

L'Ecole de Québec fut donc une faillite au point de vue qui nous intéresse comme elle le fut au strict point de vue littéraire. De 1895 à la fin de la guerre de 1914, l'Ecole littéraire de Montréal ne donna que deux oeuvres qui pouvaient compter sur le plan national et universel à la fois: les poèmes de Nelligan (1903) et le *Paon d'Email*, de Paul Morin (1911). Mais ces deux oeuvres restèrent isolées et comme suspendues entre ciel et terre: la sensibilité de nos gens ne s'y reconnut point. De plus, elles étaient elles-mêmes légèrement en retard sur la production contemporaine de la France, Nelligan refaisant Verlaine et Rimbaud de seconde



main, et Paul Morin, transplantant ici, en 1911, une poésie qui avait eu son heure de grandeur en France vers 1850.

Ce décalage n'est pas en lui-même tellement important. Nelligan et Morin étaient un levain. Malheureusement, il n'existait pas autour d'eux de pâte que ce levain pût soulever. Depuis 1920, le même phénomène de parution isolée et sans lendemain d'oeuvres prometteuses, tout au moins d'oeuvres en avance sur le milieu d'origine, s'est reproduit à plusieurs reprises. Jean-Charles Harvey, et plus récemment Robert Choquette, Alain Grandbois, Germaine Guèvremont, Gabrielle Roy, Pierre Baillargeon, Robert Charbonneau, Ringuet, André Giroux, Robert Elie ont ouvert quelques fenêtres de notre littérature sur l'extérieur. Essais timides et trop restreints pour qu'on puisse parler à propos d'eux d'une littérature nationale sans aucun doute, mais il y a dans ces efforts une indication et cette indication conduit vers la bonne route.

Au moins, ceux que je viens de nommer ont-ils su abandonner les lieux communs du canadianisme littéraire et se rencontrent-ils sur le terrain commun de l'homme avec les écrivains des grandes littératures. Quelques-uns sont allés encore plus loin et je pense à Alain Grandbois dont la poésie s'accorde au rythme de l'époque. Mais la plupart des autres retardent sur les problèmes ou les techniques du temps et surtout ne les voient pas dans le bon éclairage. Ringuet, par exemple, faisait encore du naturalisme en 1949; André Giroux et Robert Charbonneau se posaient dernièrement sur l'homme certaines questions que Mauriac résolvait en 1930. Quant à Germaine Guèvremont, elle a l'habileté de se mettre à l'abri d'un cadre intemporel, comme peut l'être le roman paysan, mais, précisément à cause de cela, son rôle dans la création d'une littérature à grande projection universelle est secondaire.

Considérés sous l'angle de la formation d'une littérature nationale, deux écrivains contemporains, de belle réputation au Canada de langue française, doivent être exclus du groupe de ceux qui apportent une contribution positive dans ce sens; ce sont Roger Lemelin et Gratien Gélinas. Roger Lemelin a un talent frais, jeune, plein d'imprévu et de charme. Mais parce que ce talent ne vit et ne profite surtout que de pittoresque, de couleur locale, de particularismes, il est (et cela malgré certaines audaces) dans la ligne des écrivains canadiens qui ont contribué à tenir notre littérature éloignée de l'universel et en marge de l'époque. C'est le pittoresque de son oeuvre, sa force caricaturale, son puissant caractère local, qui lui valent —et très justement d'ailleurs—la sympathie de certains milieux anglo-saxons et américains, plus intéressés, semble-t-il dans ce cas, à l'aspect documentaire et révélateur du roman qu'à sa valeur intrinsèque. On peut appliquer le même raisonnement au théâtre de Gratien Gélinas tout en reconnaissant que la qualité de popularité de son succès, au Canada, est entièrement méritée. Ai-je besoin de dire encore une fois que c'est par

de tout autres qualités que les oeuvres canadiennes de langue française peuvent aspirer à créer une littérature nationale de portée universelle?

Malgré le tribut que la littérature canadienne d'expression française a payé traditionnellement à ce qu'on appelle les valeurs nationales, et justement parce que ce tribut a été trop lourd et qu'il a détourné nos écrivains de ce qui aurait dû être le début et la fin véritable de leur étude et le thème central de leurs variations artistiques: l'homme, cette littérature n'a pas encore atteint le niveau d'une littérature nationale. Elle a pu être nationaliste, patriotique, elle s'est engagée dans un nombre incalculable de petits drames locaux, elle a été régionaliste et elle l'est encore de la façon la plus étroite et la plus stérile chez certains de ses écrivains. Mais elle a hésité au seuil du coeur de l'homme. Or, c'est par le détour de l'homme, qu'elle pourrait atteindre les hommes, d'abord dans son territoire immédiat d'influence au Canada et, du même mouvement, les autres hommes dans tous les territoires lointains qui pourraient être ouverts au rayonnement de nos lettres.

Il reste, sans doute, que certaines continuités nationales et religieuses, exprimées dans cette littérature par des écrivains particulièrement sensibles aux réactions du groupe canadien-français, constituent un fonds sur lequel une littérature nationale pourrait s'élever, à condition que les étages supérieurs de l'édifice aient de nombreuses fenêtres qui puissent s'ouvrir à volonté à tous les vents du monde.

Si nos écrivains régionalistes et particularistes ne comptent pas plus dans la libre perspective d'une littérature nationale, c'est qu'il en est des littératures bien établies comme des maisons bien construites. On descend très rarement au sous-sol pour en examiner les fondements. On se contente de savoir qu'ils sont là et qu'ils tiennent bon.

D'ailleurs, si légitime qu'il soit de poser cette question d'une littérature nationale, dans un pays qui est en plein examen de conscience, elle n'est cependant pas aussi importante que des critiques, plus portés vers la sociologie que la littérature, veulent nous le faire croire. Monsieur Fernand Baldensperger a fort justement rappelé dans son beau livre sur la *Littérature* que l'ancien humanisme ignorait ces formules de littérature nationale et d'art national qui ont commencé à avoir de la popularité en Europe vers 1780 seulement.

On peut donc s'interroger sur ce point mais ce n'est pas principalement parce qu'elle n'est pas nationale que notre littérature peut être dite en état de crise. Le mal est plus profond. Ne vient-il pas de la confusion où sont nos écrivains et le public cultivé quant à la notion même de littérature? N'est-ce pas surtout parce que notre littérature a hésité à admettre qu'elle est un secteur de la littérature française et à tenter d'égaler celle-ci,

Cf.—Nouvelle revue canadienne, no 1, février—mars 1951: "Du concept de littérature au Canada" p. 15 sqq.

plutôt que de se chercher des parents qui ne voudront jamais la reconnaître pour leur fille légitime ou adoptive? Notre littérature ne souffre-t-elle pas aussi d'une crise de qualité qui en fait une enfant débile et menacée dans son avenir? Ce sont là d'autres points à éclaircir.

Les questions que nous venons de nous poser sur sa signification nationale nous auront permis, au moins, d'indiquer que nous ne gagnerons rien, au point de vue de la nationalisation de nos lettres, tant que les oeuvres viseront à être des témoignages particularistes, régionalistes, locaux ou même nationaux; qu'elles doivent aller à la recherche de ces caractères de l'homme canadien que l'homme tout court, que l'humain pourra reconnaître. Que les personnages qui portent ces caractères soient, pour les besoins de l'exposition, coiffés d'une "crémone" et même revêtus d'un "capot de poil", ce genre de détails qu'on a trop cultivés importe peu. Ce qui importe, il me semble, c'est qu'à une certaine tonalité humaine de la voix de nos écrivains, ceux qui naissent souffrent jouissent et meurent, sous toutes les latitudes, reconnaissent en eux des semblables, des frères. . .

#### CRISE D'ORIENTATION

En essayant de situer les meilleurs écrivains canadiens de langue française en regard des conditions et qualités qu'il faut pour qu'une littérature soit dite nationale, nous avons vu que leurs oeuvres ne présentaient pas encore ces caractères humains et universels qui donneraient une figure nationale à nos lettres. Il y a progrès dans ce sens, sans aucun doute, il y a même quelques beaux exemples isolés de ces caractères, mais l'ensemble ne tient pas encore solidement devant un regard scrutateur.

Quelques-uns de nos écrivains se sont mis à penser, vers 1946, et ils pensent encore, que c'est en se dégageant de l'influence de la littérature française, en cessant de cultiver ici quelques-unes des formules qui ont cours là-bas et à l'occasion d'y chercher des modèles, qu'ils arriveraient à créer une littérature nationale du Canada de langue française.

Un concours de circonstances les amenait, en 1946, à poser la question sous cet angle et à réfléchir, avec plus d'attention qu'on ne l'avait jamais fait jusque là, sur l'orientation de notre littérature.

A l'origine de cette question, on trouve d'abord un fort sentiment de déception à l'égard de la littérature française d'après-guerre, sentiment que l'un de nos romanciers, M. Robert Charbonneau, exprima de la façon suivante: "Voici qu'après cinq ans de séparation on nous annonce des livres de France. Que nous apporte la France? Elle nous apporte les signes d'un peuple divisé, replié sur lui-même, d'une littérature qui ne continue pas, qui n'innove pas mais qui se recommence. Je me hâte de dire que plusieurs échappent à ce reproche. Mais ils ne peuvent compenser la médiocrité de l'ensemble. . . Nous ne voulons pas juger la pro-



duction française par ce qui a été publié. Il existe une crise du papier. Certes! Mais si on trouve du papier pour une quarantaine d'écrivains de dixième ordre et même pour des traductions, comment se fait-il qu'on n'en trouve pas pour un grand livre une fois par quinze jours?"

A ce premier sentiment de déception, qui était, à mon avis, le résultat d'une information incomplète et la conséquence d'une exigence à laquelle aucune littérature ne pourrait répondre (quelle littérature en effet peut se vanter de produire "un grand livre une fois par quinze jours?") s'ajoutait, chez certains, la découverte mélancolique que le Canada littéraire était vraiment trop ignoré de la France. M. Robert Charbonneau se fit aussi l'interprète de cette réaction: "Au Canada même, qui pourtant fait partie de la famille culturelle française, faute de curiosité, Paris a ignoré la vie d'une littérature jeune qui compte un Saint-Denys Garneau, un Alain Grandbois, un Yves Thériault, un Roger Lemelin, un Léo-Paul Desrosiers, une Gabrielle Roy et autres".

Enfin, comme cela semble être inévitable entre écrivains de langue française, qu'ils soient de la Loire, de la Seine ou du St-Laurent, la politique entra en ligne de compte et l'on assista à ce spectacle regrettable d'une discussion, qui aurait pu devenir profitable sur le strict plan littéraire, se perdant dans des querelles politiques sans issue. Une fois le débat engagé dans cette voie il devait s'envenimer pour le plus grand désavantage des idées en cause.

Indépendamment de cette dernière déviation, dont des écrivains de France prirent l'initiative et que la polémique canadienne ne sut éviter, je tentai, dans un article que publia le supplément littéraire du "Canada", le 4 novembre 1946, de retrouver le véritable centre de gravité de l'affaire et de ramener le problème à ses lignes essentielles.

Il était au fond assez peu important que tel écrivain canadien considérât que la littérature française d'après-guerre fût moins prestigieuse qu'au-paravant, puisque cette littérature pouvait offrir un Camus et un Sartre aux esprits qui ne tolèrent pas qu'une littérature cesse de présenter des vedettes de grandeur exceptionnelle. Et la pléiade d'entre les deux guerres n'était-elle pas encore au complet sauf Valéry? Gide ne donnait-il pas avec son *Thésée*, la preuve d'une faculté de renouvellement dont on aurait été bien en peine de trouver la réplique dans des littératures soi-disant jeunes? Maurois ne devait-il pas publier un *Proust* qui est l'une des meilleures biographies intellectuelles de la littérature universelle, et si Mauriac romancier gardait le silence, le Mauriac essayiste savait encore faire valoir sa voix.

Il était certes également indifférent, du point de vue des questions fondamentales d'orientation et de direction, que nos écrivains n'eussent pas reçu la mesure particulière d'attention que les lettres canadiennes d'expression française ont plusieurs titres à obtenir de la part des milieux lettrés de

France. Ce qui comptait c'était la ligne générale de développement de notre littérature et, puisque celle-ci commençait à s'affirmer, il était urgent de savoir dans quel sens elle semblait vouloir se diriger. Le reste était secondaire.

Comme on l'a écrit un an après le début de la discussion, "ce qui reste de valable dans cette expérience c'est ce qui nous a permis de faire le point et de dresser une carte de notre géographie littéraire". Sans doute cette carte était-elle provisoire et se ressentait-elle de la température élevée à laquelle les esprits s'étaient haussés. Mais, au delà des différences d'opinion, on avait enfin réussi à poser un problème essentiel, un problème de direction. Aujourd'hui comme en 1946, dépouillée de tout ce qui est venu l'alourdir et qui a menacé de la faire dévier, cette question garde son actualité et son urgence.

Elle peut se résumer ainsi: la littérature canadienne d'expression française peut-elle prétendre à l'autonomie vis-à-vis de la littérature française, une autonomie "qui viserait à se dégager de tous liens", (l'expression est de M. Charbonneau) aussi bien vis-à-vis des écoles françaises que des autres écoles étrangères.

Evidemment il y a des degrés dans les choses et nous aurions dû nous le répéter un peu plus souvent les uns aux autres en 1946. Le genre d'autonomie, que les esprits réalistes sont disposés à concéder aux lettres canadiennes-françaises, ne peut être guère plus considérable que celle de la branche envers l'arbre. On ne peut tout de même pas modifier les données de l'histoire et nier l'identité linguistique du Canada de langue française et de la France.

La branche canadienne de la littérature française peut pousser ses rameaux dans la direction où elle le veut mais les feuilles qu'elle porte sont de la même couleur que celle des autres branches du même arbre. M. Charbonneau, suivant en cela M. Etienne Gilson, préférerait voir notre littérature comme un arbre de la même famille que l'arbre français plutôt que sous l'aspect d'une simple branche de cet arbre. A la suite d'une opération compliquée d'arboriculture, la branche canadienne aurait été coupée de l'arbre français puis laissée sur le sol où elle aurait pris racine et serait devenue un arbre à son tour, "un arbre de même espèce que l'arbre français mais un autre arbre".

Dans ce domaine des comparaisons empruntées à la nature on pourrait discuter indéfiniment. Par exemple il y aurait lieu de se demander si l'arbre canadien ne s'est pas à peu près arrêté dans sa croissance à l'étape d'arbrisseau, et aussi s'il ne vaut pas mieux être la branche bien fournie, qui pousse en pleine liberté sur un arbre vigoureux, que la bouture qui croît au hasard dans une forêt où elle ne finit plus par accéder à la lumière dont elle a besoin. Il y eut en France, au début du vingtième siècle, une querelle

du peuplier entre Gide et Barrès. Evitons au Canada d'avoir celle de l'arbre et de la branche.

On en arrivera à une vue plus serrée du problème si on se rappelle les arguments qui furent échangés de part et d'autre.

Les tenants de l'autonomie littéraire du Canada de langue française pensent que notre littérature doit "chercher ses techniques, son inspiration et ses critères à Montréal plutôt qu'à Paris" et, que, chaque fois qu'il lui faut regarder au delà de Montréal, il lui soit loisible de se mettre à l'école de n'importe quelle littérature étrangère au même titre qu'à l'école de la littérature française.

Si l'on objecte, d'un point de vue tout pratique, que nos écrivains, visant à atteindre les lecteurs de langue française, partout où ils peuvent les trouver dans le monde, il leur faut, par conséquent, donner à ces lecteurs des livres conçus et écrits d'une façon qui réponde aux exigences et aux habitudes du goût français, on répond, comme l'a écrit M. Charbonneau, que "c'est ici que les traductions interviennent et que si nous créons vraiment des oeuvres originales et profondément canadiennes elles pourront être traduites et leur rayonnement en sera centuplé".

Par contre, ceux qui pensent que la littérature canadienne d'expression française est encore un secteur de la littérature française prétendent que, dans le domaine de la technique, des formules et de ce qu'on a appelé "les critères" (il s'agit probablement ici des jugements critiques en regard de certaines normes) nos écrivains ont intérêt à se considérer comme des écrivains français, non pas pour imiter ou suivre ce qui se fait à Paris, mais pour s'y comparer, l'égaliser et y ajouter, s'ils peuvent le faire, une contribution originale.

Ils n'ont jamais soutenu que les Canadiens devaient chercher leur inspiration à Paris. D'ailleurs, s'il est un élément de la création littéraire qu'il est difficile de circonscrire sur le plan géographique, c'est bien ce qu'on appelle l'inspiration. Mais lorsqu'il s'agit du problème de la composition, des recherches de style ou du traitement des thèmes, et dans le domaine des principes et des procédés de la critique, ils pensent que la littérature canadienne d'expression française a évolué jusqu'ici selon une ligne générale de filiation française dont il serait dangereux de s'écarter.

Cette école de pensée applique, d'ailleurs, un raisonnement analogue à la littérature canadienne d'expression anglaise bien qu'elle reconnaisse la nécessité pour nos écrivains canadiens-anglais de tenir compte de l'apport très précieux des recherches et des réussites américaines, dans le vaste ensemble de langue anglaise, et aussi des avantages qu'ils peuvent retirer d'un marché immense dont l'accès immédiat leur est facilité par l'identité des langues.

Autonome, la littérature canadienne de langue anglaise pourrait l'être en théorie, vis-à-vis de la littérature de l'Angleterre, plus facilement et plus



logiquement que nos lettres canadiennes de langue française vis-à-vis de la France, à cause de la communauté d'origine et de langage des Canadiens-Anglais et des Américains. La littérature américaine n'est-elle pas une branche du tronc britannique comme le sont les lettres canadiennes d'expression anglaise? Il appartient à la critique anglo-canadienne de faire le point sur ce sujet et de dire quel degré exact d'autonomie, du côté de l'Angleterre, peut se concilier chez leurs écrivains avec une résistance suffisante à la force d'attraction de la littérature américaine.

Notre problème se pose différemment. Il peut être désirable en théorie que nos écrivains cherchent "leurs techniques, leur inspiration et leurs critères à Montréal". Mais il faudrait savoir ce que Montréal peut leur offrir à ces trois points de vue. La réponse à cette question me paraît désespérément courte et simple.

Au fond, l'erreur de l'école autonomiste ne serait-elle pas le résultat de la transposition, dans l'ordre littéraire, des données du problème de l'autonomie politique, tout au moins de la confusion entre les méthodes par lesquelles on est arrivé à l'autonomie politique et celles qui pourraient conduire à l'autonomie littéraire?

Nous avons gagné, comme nation, une autonomie politique complète par une série de minuscules actes volontaires d'affranchissement, acceptés de toute la nation et qui se sont coordonnés avec deux ou trois grandes manifestations canadiennes de maturité politique sur le plan international. Par contre, notre volonté d'autonomie, dans l'ordre littéraire, n'est pas le fait de toute la nation mais l'opinion d'un groupe restreint d'écrivains au sein du large groupement canadien-français. De plus, cette volonté partielle d'être littérairement indépendants est beaucoup moins ancienne que notre volonté d'indépendance nationale ou politique. Enfin, elle ne s'est pas encore manifestée d'une façon suffisamment brillante et continue, dans les oeuvres, pour qu'elle puisse avoir, dans l'ordre de la littérature universelle, les conséquences que notre volonté d'autonomie politique a obtenues dans l'ordre international.

Ce n'est pas le seul fait d'affirmer simplement qu'elle entend se dégager brusquement de l'orbite de la littérature française qui peut assurer à notre littérature son autonomie. Celle-ci ne peut être que le résultat d'une affirmation par les oeuvres comme ce fut le cas de notre indépendance sur la carte politique du monde. Or la considération des oeuvres, sans égard à la qualité qu'elles peuvent avoir, nous met en présence de deux données indiscutables qui ne peuvent que maintenir nos lettres dans l'orbite français: notre communauté de langue avec les écrivains français et la persistance de la tradition française qui reste toujours sensible dans les meilleurs de nos livres.

Les écrivains canadiens de langue française écrivent en français et dans le français le plus correct possible. Ceux d'entre eux qui n'y

arrivent pas peuvent fort bien aller prétendre qu'il est urgent, pour la littérature canadienne, de créer son propre langage mais ils n'avoueront jamais que c'est en pensant à leurs propres fautes d'expression qu'ils parlent ainsi. Au contraire, que la critique leur reproche une faute de syntaxe et ils se garderont bien de répondre que c'est précisément pour fonder une langue canadienne qu'ils consentent à faire quelques barbarismes. Ils discuteront à l'infini, ils remonteront jusqu'au seizième siècle, Montaigne et Rabelais en main, pour se convaincre que le canadianisme qu'on leur reproche leur vient du fonds le plus ancien de la langue.

Il arrive périodiquement que l'on soutienne la thèse favorable à la création d'une langue canadienne mais c'est toujours dans l'abstrait et sans référence aux oeuvres de la production courante. Et tous les arguments que l'on invoque alors, si patriotiques soient-ils, ne tiennent pas devant ceci qui est très simple mais à quoi il faut penser: c'est que jamais de mémoire humaine une langue n'a été le résultat de la volonté arbitraire d'un groupe d'écrivains qui décideraient un beau matin de créer une langue comme on peut décider de fonder une maison de commerce.

Cette persistance généralisée dans l'usage de la langue française comme on l'a écrit à Paris s'accompagne, dans les lettres canadiennes d'expression française, de la fidélité au moins théorique à une tradition littéraire qui met l'accent sur certaines valeurs intellectuelles et esthétiques consubstantielles à la littérature française. L'habitude de l'analyse psychologique, la volonté de mettre l'homme au centre, sinon au sommet de l'oeuvre, de s'appliquer à approfondir la nature humaine plutôt qu'à décrire la nature extérieure, le goût d'établir dans les choses une hiérarchie qui peut aller jusqu'à la manie de la classification, le sens de la composition, la méfiance pour les situations que l'on ne peut résoudre, pour les recherches qui n'aboutissent pas à la mise en lumière d'une bonne idée générale ou d'un principe suffisamment durable: voilà autant de directions bien françaises vers lesquelles nos auteurs se sentent inclinés, même si la plupart d'entre eux ne vont pas encore très loin dans ce sens.

Je ne dis pas que la littérature canadienne d'expression française peut présenter des oeuvres où l'on trouvera la démonstration éclatante de ces caractères. S'il en était ainsi, nous n'aurions pas à nous poser de questions sur l'existence d'une littérature canadienne. Mais je prétends que si on forçait nos écrivains dans d'autres voies, on n'en tirerait rien de meilleur et probablement beaucoup plus de choses plus mauvaises que celles qu'ils produisent en restant largement et librement fidèles à ce qu'on a convenu d'appeler la tradition littéraire de la France.

En tout cas, nos meilleurs écrivains ne se sont jamais plaints que cette tradition littéraire de la France, à laquelle ils se rattachent dans la mesure où ils le peuvent, nuisait à leur génie. M. Robert Charbonneau lui-même

n'a-t-il pas fait de bons romans en prenant tout naturellement sa place dans la suite des romanciers psychologiques français?

Reste l'accusation de colonialisme que l'on a lancée aux adversaires d'une autonomie littéraire de caractère absolu. Le fait même que l'on recourt à ce mot ne prouve-t-il pas précisément, comme je l'indiquais plus haut, que l'on confond l'ordre littéraire et l'ordre politique?

D'ailleurs, comment pourrait-on sérieusement taxer de colonialisme intellectuel l'écrivain canadien, américain ou brésilien qui cherche ses "techniques" ou ses "critères" dans des lieux comme Paris ou Londres, où précisément les courants de l'esprit viennent de partout et soufflent librement dans toutes les directions. Stephen Spender écrivait en décembre 1949: "At a certain epoch indeed, — after 1920 — Paris was a far truer centre of American literary life than any city in America". Les grands écrivains américains n'ont pas déploré cet état de choses. Ils en ont sûrement retiré plus de prestige encore auprès de leurs compatriotes. Pourquoi inciterait-on les écrivains canadiens de langue française à se priver des mêmes avantages? D'autant plus que l'identité de langage, une tradition littéraire commune, l'exploitation discrète d'une sympathie naturelle peuvent les faire entrer de plain-pied dans le jeu.

Mais, en ces temps compliqués, même les choses évidentes doivent être longuement démontrées.

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## THE HUMANITIES

MALCOLM W. WALLACE

### FOREWORD—A TIME OF CHANGE

THE tempo of change in our generation has become so swift that clear thinking on most subjects was never more difficult to achieve.

Most of the changes which have transformed our daily lives, our standards in matters of government and education, our hopes for the future of man, and indeed those general ideals which serve as lanterns to mark our path—all these changes have originated in the dominating role which science has come to play in our lives. No such fundamental change has ever before been recorded in so brief a period of human history. Science has taught us to increase human productivity of goods to an incredible extent; we not only enjoy comforts and conveniences hitherto undreamed of, but power and wealth in general have exercised a kind of intoxication over the imaginations of men. We might have used this unparalleled power to create a new Eden on earth. As a matter of fact we have chosen to indulge in the most expensive of all luxuries—recurring world wars. Our discovery of the atomic bomb would seem to guarantee bigger and better wars in the future. In perplexing contradiction to these facts we have tried to establish a United Nations Organization and to achieve something like universal education. It is all very confusing.

Power has become the god of our idolatry, and within the last thirty years we have seen one great Empire follow another to destruction in a desperate gambler's bid to extend their territories by conquest. The madness has infected the majority of men in the organization of their private lives, and the religion of "getting on" is the dominant creed of our country. Most other purposes are subordinated to our desire to achieve greater wealth and a higher social status than we enjoy at present. The manual laborer hopes to see his children enter the white collar class; the moderately well-to-do hope to become rich. Naturally, and inevitably, our national creed is reflected in our educational and social organizations.

Nowhere are drastic changes more strikingly illustrated than in our schools and colleges. They have increased their numbers many fold regardless of the fact that competent teachers were not available to deal with such multitudes. We have solved the problem in part by modifying our standards and our ideals of education. High School courses have been

multiplied, largely in technical or vocational subjects, with the object of enabling graduates to take their places in the service of the huge industrial machine which produces the goods which we demand. Whether these graduates are educated in any more fundamental sense is another question.

Now we must admit that it would have been foolish to force instruction in Greek or Latin, let us say, on students who had neither the capacity nor the taste for dealing with them. We admit, also, that the desire to "get on" is a most laudable ambition if it does not exclude even more laudable ambitions. Moreover, since human motives are always mixed, our enthusiasm about educating everyone has certainly included a desire to give to every child something of the abiding satisfactions which flow from intellectual development and from some acquaintance with the richer beauty of cultivated life. We have honestly desired also to fit them to discharge their duties as citizens of a democracy. But we have desired beyond all else, and often unconsciously as members of our generation, to fit them to "succeed", which means to "get on". The wish to extend educational opportunity is a noble wish, but the results we have achieved fill many good men with a premonition that all is not well, that the imposing structure we have built up is based on a foundation of sand. To what extent, for instance have we implanted enduring interests and a desire to continue the pursuit of knowledge? "Never in the history of the world", says the Harvard Report on General Education, "have vulgarity and debilitation beat so insistently on the mind as they now do from screen, radio, and news-stand. Against these the book or movie which speaks with authentic largeness to the whole people has no easy victory." Do our schools constitute at least a powerful barrier? Do they in some measure equip the young men and women who enter the world of business to preserve their souls against these assaults? Surely, education reduced to the lowest terms must aim at strengthening the character and refining the taste of students.

Languages and literatures enable us to enter into the life of men in the past and present, in foreign lands and at home, to know the best that has been thought and said throughout the ages. In the fine arts and literature are preserved the most precious creative work of men. In History we have a record of the most significant happenings in human life in the past, in Philosophy the most significant guesses as to the nature of reality. The Humanities are concerned with beauty in all its forms, and with speculations regarding human relations and the meaning and values in human experience. Mathematics and Science also have humanistic values but incidentally rather than immediately.

The Humanities gratify some of the deepest human cravings—to see and hear beautiful things, to understand the complexities of personal relations, and to speculate on the baffling origin and meaning of men's



lives. There is no absolute line of distinction between the Humanities on the one hand and Mathematics and Science on the other. Mathematics, for instance, is essential for Architecture, and both Mathematics and Science reveal new forms of beauty. This, however, is incidental to their primary object which is to understand human environment rather than man, and to make it serve his purposes. Both Science and the Humanities seek to enlarge human understanding, but in one case the object is almost entirely intellectual satisfaction plus power, in the other intellectual satisfaction plus an experience of beauty and practical wisdom for living.

The simplest kind of human happiness probably comes from personal relations and from enjoying beautiful things. Literature, by familiarizing us with the relations of men and women in many lands and times, broadens our understanding of human life in its most vital aspects. Moreover it exercises our imaginations, our picture-making powers. After human relations and an experience of beauty the most wide-spread source of happiness is from speculating on the meaning and values of life. These things are not only good in themselves but they relieve men from the tensions of purely practical life—securing food and shelter, buying and selling, making practical arrangements of all kinds.

Practical life gives satisfaction, but it is an inferior kind of satisfaction, which excludes us from the society of the good and great men of the race into whose achievements we might enter with a corresponding enlargement of our own lives and characters. To cater to a growing capacity for these things is the special function of the humanities. They cater to the desire to know the best that has been thought and said and done among men in all countries and in all ages, to achieve the satisfaction that comes from feeling one's self in the main march of the human mind, in the supreme enterprise of men. If you say that you are not interested in such high matters we can only say that you are not educated, that yours is a case of arrested development.

Not to enter into this new world is to remain forever a child. It is to neglect the rich inheritance of the ages, which must be claimed before it can be possessed, the possibility of putting away childish things and sharing in the larger life of the race. It is to be content with stagnation in place of growth, to lose the zest for new experience in absorption in material pleasures.

#### FORMAL EDUCATION

Education is a human device for enabling the child to grow to mental maturity, and consists in the development of tastes and interests as well as abilities. It proceeds inevitably from the experience of daily living, but we supplement this experience by seeking to direct the child's development of knowledge and interests. As he becomes more familiar with

his environment he develops preferences. He begins with an absorbing interest in the external world and proceeds to an interest in other human beings and in colours and sounds for their own sake. His preferences begin in earliest childhood and are largely the result of inborn native capacities and the influence of his parents and play-mates. He learns to read, and henceforth books and school play a great role in determining the things which make the chief appeal to his interest.

The child becomes acquainted with his world largely by gratifying his instinct for imitation. He loves to pretend—"as if his whole vocation were endless imitation". He imitates his parents and his teachers, who embody for him all wisdom and goodness. It is for this reason that good parents and good teachers are the greatest boon that fortune can bestow on the child. He must take his parents as he finds them, but if they are intelligent and responsible one would assume that no project would seem to them of greater importance than providing for their child teachers whose characters and abilities were worthy of imitation.

#### THE TEACHER

The influence of a great teacher is often the chief influence brought to bear on a child's development. He can stimulate dormant powers, a delight in learning which will later become a delight in intellectual adventure, a love of beautiful things, and an admiration of the qualities displayed in the teacher's character. A good teacher is a guarantee of good education, and there is no other consideration of comparable importance in the educational process.

Now most parents desire in a general way to provide for their children the best of opportunities. One would suppose, then, that the demand for good teachers would direct into the teaching profession a large proportion of the best ability in the community. One would suppose that no other occupation would command such universal respect. But, unfortunately, the facts are at variance with this assumption. Teachers are not a highly respected class, nor is their work considered of great importance. Our commercially-minded generation reserves its respect for those who earn much money, and accordingly directs the best ability of its youth into business or the learned professions. The fact that teaching is not held in high esteem by the public means that remuneration is low, and that recruits are only rarely men of high calibre. Perhaps there has never been a time in the history of Canada when the average quality of its teachers was lower than it is today.

Clear thinking demands that we recognize this governing fact: the kind of education that we provide for our children is determined overwhelmingly by the kind of men and women we secure as teachers. If we ignore this truth we shall seek in vain for salvation from magnificent

buildings and equipment, or from concentrating our attention on methods of teaching or psychology. It is not possible to estimate the value of the service which a great teacher performs for a community. He comes into contact with children at a time when their tastes and interests are still in the formative stage, and their curiosity as to the nature of life at its maximum. They are highly imitative creatures, and it comes natural to them to admire even to excess. If their teacher has dynamic force and character his pupils will almost certainly learn to admire what he admires and to disapprove of what he disapproves. Snobbishness and racial prejudices have not yet made the baleful appeal to them which they will make later on; their natural sense of right and wrong is probably more sound and more compelling than it will be later, when they are exposed to the contagion of the world's slow stain. After a good heredity there is no good fortune which can come to a child comparable to a good teacher. Indeed the nurture which he has to offer may well prove to be a more powerful force than the nature which the child has inherited. It seems incredible, then, that any community could be indifferent to the character of the teacher to whom it entrusts such a supremely important task. Many a great man who has left an enduring mark upon his world has looked back with gratitude to the early influence exerted on him by a devoted teacher.

Perhaps the low esteem in which teachers are held today is the most eloquent evidence as to the seriousness of the sickness from which we are suffering. If we make egregious mistakes in trying to distinguish between those things which are of first importance and those which are of second, we may well fear that our sickness will prove to be fatal. At any rate it will not be cured in a day. The aspirations which determine the direction of our daily lives are so intimately bound up with our practice in matters of education that it is not possible to think of them as really opposed. Mammon worship will effectively prevent our children from wasting time on such non-merchantable commodities as painting and poetry. We may take courage for the future when we see a community setting aside a fair proportion of its ablest youth for the purpose of supervising the school years of the children. To put it briefly we cannot serve God and Mammon.

If it be true, then, that in the last analysis the quality of High School graduates is determined by the quality of the teachers under whom they have studied, we can only reflect that the profession of teaching is today in a sadly depressed condition. The sudden demand for a vastly increased number of teachers as a result of our multiplying many times the numbers of High School students created an almost insoluble problem. But when we remember that this insistent demand for an army of recruits for a learned profession was made by a public that had no real respect for their work and little interest in its standards, the result will hardly surprise us. Their employers had little respect for teachers for they could not on an average



earn as much as skilled workmen. The men who have been "successful" in our society would never dream of allowing their own sons to enter such a blind alley occupation. Students in High School and College are well aware of these facts, and no man who graduates from the University with first-class honours in mathematics or science ever thinks of becoming a High School teacher. Many of those who engage teachers are honestly enthusiastic about education for everyone, and are willing to build magnificent school buildings, but are little interested in the qualifications of those whom they engage. It has been bitterly said that "one of the tragedies of our time has been the change of teaching from a calling to something like an industry". The insatiable demand has furnished an opening for the incompetent and unambitious, who may even enter this fairly safe haven without the formality of securing a certificate. But still the demand is unsatisfied and many schools have had to be closed. Dr. Lazerte in a recent address to the Canadian Education Association pointed out that at present the teacher shortage in all provinces amounts to 7593, and that many employed at present are not fully certificated. It is a sad decline from the days when there was no more able or highly respected body of men in Ontario than those who manned our High Schools.

If the picture I have drawn seems too unqualified I can only appeal to those most familiar with the subject for verification of its general outlines. Incompetent work is to be found everywhere. For instance, it is not uncommon to have the teaching of English Literature entrusted to a teacher whose regular work does not fill his day, even though he knows nothing about Literature and cares less. Or an instructor in Physical Training may be available if his time is not fully occupied, or if his physical vigour has begun to grow less.

Women teachers have saved the situation in the High Schools. Of these many first class Honours Graduates enter the profession, but normally they do not make it their life work. Nevertheless, the years which they give to teaching are of priceless value to the schools. Then, too, there are still a few men of the highest calibre who ignore the standards of the contemporary world, and become teachers simply because it seems to them the supremely great and rewarding occupation. But the number of very able men who deliberately devote their lives to teaching is altogether inadequate.

There are those who think that the difficulty can be corrected by increasing teachers' salaries. If it were possible to do so there might be some educational effect on their masters who at present believe that teachers are paid all that their services are worth. Moreover, the large number of incompetent teachers gives a specious justification to this attitude. Dr. Trueman, President of the University of New Brunswick, recently told the Canadian Education Association that "low as salaries are, there are

all too many teachers in Canada today who are being paid all or even more than they are worth. We commonly think the teacher is the victim of a wicked world, but there are plenty of teachers I wouldn't give \$5.00 a month to . . . . What the teaching profession wants, more than anything else, is a higher status in the eyes of the public, a status equivalent to that, let us say, of the doctor and lawyer. But a great deal of weeding out has to be done before teaching can legitimately claim any such status". He estimates that one teacher in five is engaged in teaching for shockingly inadequate and unprofessional reasons.

Now it is difficult to convert an acquaintance with the humanities into higher earning power. They are not "goods" to increase our technical or professional efficiency; like good health, they are their own justification. They do not make better engineers or doctors or plumbers; they merely make better and happier men who go about their business of living more intelligently. It would not be necessary to labour the point were it not for the general assumption that education is an instrument. Even the speaking or writing of good English has been commended on the ground that professional or business efficiency is increased thereby. We find it difficult to believe in tastes or interests or skills merely because they make us happier, more satisfied, more conscious of living abundantly. The heresy, of course, is based on the assumption that our human satisfaction depends on the possession of power, of wealth, not as instruments but as ultimates.

Our conception today of the role of a teacher is of a person who will preside over as large classes as possible for as many hours as possible. Public opinion supervises his personal habits and is prepared to condemn him for smoking, but is not interested in whether he has intellectual qualifications or an opportunity to develop them. Until we decide that he should have leisure time to devote to the business of continuing his education, of producing research articles and books on his work, we condemn him to a routine unworthy of a profession, and justify the bitter taunt that his occupation is an industry and not a profession. It is from this point that all reform in education must take its rise.

#### THE MODERN HIGH SCHOOL

The Modern High School is a strangely different kind of institution from that of fifty or even twenty-five years ago. In the United States its numbers have increased at something like thirty times the increase of the general population, and in Canada also the increase has been beyond belief. This change has occurred at a time when there was a great shift of population from the country to the city, and when at the same time the machine came to dominate life in country and city alike. Farming, for instance, is not the same kind of occupation it was formerly, and

city life has been industrialized to an incredible extent. These changes have modified the character and problems of the High School out of all recognition. The old programme of studies has become impracticable for the majority of present day pupils, many of whom are not interested in the subjects formerly taught in High Schools. This problem has been solved by introducing new subjects, especially subjects of a vocational kind—a sensible way, it must be admitted, of meeting the problem, although one result has been to change fundamentally the character of High School training.

The education offered by High Schools has been called the floor and foundation of our democracy, and that is a function which they cannot lightly surrender. Nevertheless, it is a function which they find more and more difficult to fulfil. The distinction between academic aims on the one hand, and technical and vocational aims on the other cannot be ignored. They divide the High School population into classes separated by different kinds of ability, of background, and of outlook. But our democracy dislikes the very idea of classes, and seeks desperately for some principle of unity which may bind together the whole body of students. Differences in ability and tastes, however, are inherent in nature, and simply must be taken into account if we are to deal intelligently with the problem.

Purely educational considerations would prescribe the segregation of the able and the dull as soon as their capacities could be determined. Able students would profit immensely, and teachers could address themselves seriously to the problem of how best to cater to the needs of the less able. Their real education must come from the vocational courses which fit them to enter the occupations which attract them. We cannot remind ourselves too often that all education does not proceed from class-rooms; work and experience have long been the effective teachers of the great multitude of men, and will long continue to perform this function. The ex-soldier students who have filled college class-rooms of recent years have been living witnesses to the maturity and poise which come out of non-academic experience.

In the conduct of our High Schools segregation is inevitable in some sense, and if we accept this fact voluntarily we can do a much more intelligent service for both the bright and the dull. But so strong is our "democratic" objection to recognizing inborn differences of ability that we continue to cater to the "average" student and thereby defraud both classes. That we fail to do the best possible for the able is obvious, but it is not less true that we fail with those in the vocational courses. Of course they must be taught something more than the wood-working, machine work, and household science which make up the bulk of their studies, and such instruction could be given most effectively in special classes. They could profit immensely from work in the arts and in English and History, but



they need a special prescription of such work, and perhaps special teachers who will not seek primarily to develop intellectual power, but rather to develop an interest in reading good books, to inculcate a love of beautiful things, and to persuade their students that to understand the contemporary world they must know something of the past out of which it has grown.

For these students who are interested in practical things rather than in intellectual matters it is essential that their teachers persuade them that one practical result of reading good books is to enable them to know human beings, and so to understand the practical questions of the present world. Knowing literature will not make them better workmen. The appeal must be to their desire to take part in practical things other than their daily work—in social and political situations which are as truly related to their practical welfare as is skill in their daily labour. This is an argument they will understand, when they might remain indifferent to arguments regarding a richer life in general. They must be persuaded that the humanities can contribute to their life as citizens. It is an honest argument, even though their instructors do not consider it the primary justification of these studies. It is an argument that may enable the teacher to do good by stealth.

For the education of able students instruction in separate classes would be of inestimable value. Students perform a primary educational service by educating each other—by emulation, and by infecting each other with the delight in intellectual achievement. But this is not a work for the superficial or the dull. We are considering the boys who will be the future leaders of the community, who will determine educational policy, and who will provide the current of fresh ideas that alone can keep the national life vital. From them we may hope for enthusiasm as to the preservation of standards, especially in scholarship. Their work and ability is more essential to a healthy democracy than any other single influence. Even in our highly specialized world where all education tends to become technical, a gifted student will resent the narrowing range of experience prescribed for him in a world of infinitely varied interests. He will insist on at least a general acquaintance with many major human problems; he will find that such knowledge increases his general ability, and has a reconciling power as he faces the complexities and frustrations that are inevitable in human life. Even though he specializes in Mathematics or the Sciences, the Humanities will generally make an irresistible appeal to him, if only because of their power to give delight and to supplement technical knowledge with philosophic speculation. If a successful democratic government demands a widely diffused degree of intelligence in the general population it is even more dependent on a continuing supply of able men who will give it direction and modify its character in accordance

with changing conditions. Technicians can perform only a minor role in this program; the statesman will always derive from the humanities his chief capacity for his high office.

A program of teaching able and average students in separate classes will be opposed chiefly by ambitious parents of the dull, and by those who wish to keep low the costs of our schools. Neither argument has real relevance. The chief obstacle to putting such a program into effect is the lack of interest in education on the part of our most influential citizens.

We are back again to the most fundamental consideration in determining the quality of our schools: how important does the enterprise seem to the average citizen? If he ever decides that it is very important indeed, he may as well be prepared for the fact that it cannot be done cheaply. He will have to engage abler and more highly trained teachers and pay them accordingly. He will have to assign smaller classes to each of them even though the number of students grows from year to year. We may hope that we shall not always have to blush under criticism such as Hugh MacLennan's: "The most exploited, neglected and under-privileged class in Canada today are the nation's school-teachers."

#### COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Like the High School, the University of today has been changed out of all resemblance to its former self. It numbers thousands or even tens of thousands of students. The ideal of a lonely individual pursuing his search for the truth in isolation has given place to the ideal of a huge joint enterprise. The research student of our day needs great laboratories and libraries, and many assistants. Great wealth alone can give him the opportunity to seek for new truth. The primary purpose of the huge organization is to discover new scientific truths or new processes or gadgets which may increase our wealth, and to turn out an adequate supply of operators to make our great industrial machine function. We are not much concerned about producing philosophers or preachers or poets, though we do produce recruits for the small army of university instructors and high school teachers. Society reserves its most generous rewards for those who can administer large business enterprises, and as smaller businesses every year disappear into huge organizations (despite our professed enthusiasm for private enterprise), the university graduates who do not find a place in law, medicine or engineering become employees of big business. Our universities are largely administered by business men who have introduced many of the methods of mass production. Their large funds are spent chiefly on scientific departments, for they regard libraries and student residences of very secondary importance.

It is still true, nevertheless, that universities retain a large measure

of independence in the direction of their own activities. The trouble is that they, too, have become infected with the malady of the age. They seek to increase their numbers by offering instruction in a multitude of practical fields, forgetting that large numbers and high standards are not compatibles. It used to be maintained that students educated one another, but with our heterogeneous multitudes the theory does not carry conviction. Humanities departments are still provided, but they no longer attract the bulk of the ablest students. The demand for useful practical application of new truth has discouraged the ideal of intellectual life for its own sake. In spite of these facts it is probably correct to say that universities are among the most precious of our contemporary possessions. They still foster a spirit of independent inquiry; they still recognize the discovery of new truth and the transmission of accumulated knowledge as their special function, and their inherent internationalism would seem to guarantee to them an important part in the world affairs of the future. Their long tradition of absorption in the humanities carries a promise that when a renaissance comes it will arise within their walls. They have always dwelt in an atmosphere of cosmopolitanism and cooperation, and they have pursued their own ends with a decent disregard of the temporary whims of the contemporary world. More than any other institution they have consistently proclaimed the abiding values for men of the search for beauty, truth and goodness.

The humanities are the great educational instrument for perpetuating a knowledge of what men have accomplished in the arts, in literature and in speculation, but it will be a difficult task to restore them to the status which they have lost in our schools and colleges. Public education inevitably reflects the tastes and ideals of the communities, and as long as our most influential citizens regard the humanities as "frills" we can hardly hope for a radical change. It is indeed difficult to review the history of the present century without misgivings as to the conduct of our international relations, and we have good reasons for similar concern as to the internal health of our western democracies. In both, conflict plays a role which negatives much of our constructive efforts.

It will, at any rate, be no easy matter to substitute an enthusiasm for literature or philosophy for the prevailing absorption in economics and science. Nevertheless, it would be a great mistake to assume that the cause is lost. Here in Canada there is a very considerable body of our citizens whose deep interest in literature, music, painting and the drama is beyond question; to cooperate with such groups is a legitimate ambition of our universities in their search for sanity and wisdom.

A brief prescription for improving the work of colleges and universities might run as follows:



- a. Let them confine themselves to their proper work of developing intellectual and aesthetic capacity.
- b. They should eliminate all courses which are calculated merely to develop skills. These courses could be given more effectively in special institutions where the students might gain many advantages, and lose nothing but the artificial prestige they now seek.
- c. They should provide adequate libraries and residences, the most necessary kinds of university equipment.
- d. They should remember that large numbers and high standards are almost incompatibles.
- e. They should pay much more adequate salaries especially to the younger members of their staffs, in order to hold them, and to enable them to become productive scholars.

#### LIBRARIES—AND READING

Libraries have long been recognized as the universities of poor men, and indeed books will probably always play a major role in disseminating a knowledge of the humanities. A taste for reading good books is the *sine qua non* of the education which continues throughout adult life. This taste can be gratified only by easy access to a good library.

Canadian Public Libraries make a poor showing as compared to those of the United States, where nine of their Public Libraries have each more than a million volumes. (Toronto has 682,000, Hamilton and Ottawa about 200,000 each). If we turn to university libraries the comparison is still more unfavorable. Thirty-five American university libraries have each more books than the University of Toronto; Harvard has ten times as many. The Library of Congress has 7,877,002 books and a larger number of manuscripts, all freely available to American (and Canadian) citizens. Canada, almost alone among the nations, has no National Library. Its Parliamentary Library of half a million books is badly housed, as are practically all of our university libraries. For many years the University of Toronto, for example, the Provincial University of the rich Province of Ontario, has placed a new volume on its shelves only by the device of sending one older volume into cold storage, where it becomes practically unobtainable. To make the situation still worse there is no arrangement whereby one Canadian library can easily find out what books are possessed by another—one service among many others performed by the Library of Congress for Americans.

These facts are calculated to stir up unflattering reflections in Canadians who are at present much interested in defining the exact difference between a middle world power and a great power. Nowhere

is the predominance of science over the humanities more obvious than in our midst. In the University of Toronto we have just completed a new Chemistry Building at a cost of \$4,300,000, but our Library as a building and as a collection of books can only call forth our apologies and explanations.

In a brief submitted by the Conference of Canadian universities to the Massey Royal Commission, the establishment of a Canadian Council of Arts and Letters is proposed. "There are gifts", the brief says, "to assist enterprises that are likely to be beneficial to industry, and the Government makes generous grants for scientific research, but there is no comparable financial encouragement for the task of introducing our youth to the great ideas enshrined in our cultural heritage, and inspiring in their minds and hearts a cordial and critical devotion to them. If Canada is to be something better than an appendage of the United States, Canada must herself become the patron of her arts and letters."

The extent to which Canada has been content to be a cultural appendage of the United States is not generally recognized. The Americans have been exceedingly generous to us, and have made available to us many privileges of their own citizens. American universities have given fellowships for graduate work to our graduates so generously, and have then offered them college appointments so freely, that a small army of Canadians of the finest calibre have become American citizens. Their great financial institutions have helped to build many of our libraries, have subsidized our Medical Schools, our Pensions Scheme for retiring University professors, our work in Adult Education, our Institute of International Affairs, and study projects of many kinds, even including a survey of University education in our Maritime Provinces. At long last, however, the Americans are beginning to ask why we have no Canadian Foundations to whom we could prefer our requests for assistance. Why, indeed? If we aspire to full vigorous nationhood we must learn to be sensitive about our own dignity.

A Canadian National Library is one of our most crying needs. Until it has been established adequate facilities for graduate research work will not be available to us, and our graduates will continue to look to the United States for graduate instruction. But a National Library will serve many other important purposes which are well summed up by President Watson Kirkconnell in *The Humanities in Canada* (1946).

Books have played an enormously important role among modern civilized peoples. The influence of the Bible, for instance, during the last two or three centuries can hardly be exaggerated. Quite apart from its religious significance it has familiarized a large proportion of English-speaking people with some of the greatest prose and poetry in our literature. Many simple men and women have learned from the reiterated

reading of its pages to develop a genuine sense of literary beauty, and to elevate their own speech by means of an extended vocabulary and a familiarity with beautiful rhythmic effects. They have learned something of the history of the ancient world, and have become acquainted with a philosophy of life of compelling power. They have learned to meditate on all the fundamental problems with which men have had to wrestle throughout the ages. In a word, the Bible has been a unique force in the spreading of humanistic tastes, for there has been only a small proportion of the entire population on whom this force has not exerted its power. To a surprising extent the Bible has supplied to the common people the education which otherwise they would have had to do without.

An astonishing change, however, has taken place within the present century. Formal religion now makes its appeal to an increasingly smaller proportion of people; church attendance and Bible-reading are outmoded for great numbers. Only to a negligible proportion of young folk today is the Bible known at all. Very few college students recognize the most obvious reference to its characters or the stories which it relates. In our revolutionary era there are few changes of taste and belief more significant than this. Young men and women have lost the stable frame of reference which formerly enabled them to place and evaluate their own experiences. They find themselves adrift in their immature years in a world where nothing may be taken as established, where there are no generally accepted norms of conduct or ideals toward attaining which one should strive. The resulting confusion of mind is increased when the student finds a similar confusion, a similar lack of stability, in the contemporary world of international and economic relations, in artistic and moral standards. Under these conditions the evolving of coherent convictions is a difficult business for him, and only with maturing years can he be expected to discover truths which will equip him to fight against the glittering attractions of a materialistic world.

The Bible is not the only great book that is neglected by young people today. There is evidence on every hand that serious reading of all kinds is far less common than it was formerly. In the simpler world of yesterday reading as an occupation did not have to compete with the automobile, the movies and commercialized sport, and with what the Harvard Committee calls the debilitation and vulgarity which beat insistently on our minds from screen, radio and news-stand. Against these influences a well established habit of reading serious books is a great defence, but it is to be feared that the reading of multitudes of our people reinforces rather than counters these vulgarizing influences. The sale of "crime comics" has reached such a point that our Federal Government has found it necessary to deal with the situation by legislation.



Recently, at a meeting of the Toronto Association of Teachers of English, Dr. Goldring, Director of Education, presented a most depressing picture of young people turning away from the pleasures of reading during their leisure hours, and he predicted that things would grow worse in the immediate future. "If we compare the situation with England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, for example," says President Conant, "it seems clear that the sale of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* and Burnet's *History of His Own Time* reached a far greater proportion of the total number of potential readers than any volume in this country today." We read magazines and newspapers which require a minimum of concentrated attention. President Conant goes on to deplore "our dismal failure to awaken in more than a small fraction of even our college students a continuing interest in good literature and scholarly works dealing with history, philosophy and science". This is terribly eloquent testimony to our failure to educate our youth.

By way of explanation we can plead the attractions of commercialized sport, movies, and "extra-curricular activities". But surely it is a function of the school to implant tastes which will combat at least the more vulgar of the pleasures which delight the multitude. Our only hope for a renaissance of interest in the humanities takes for granted a reading public which numbers among its members a body of men and women devoted to great books as a chief source of wisdom and delight in living. Unless their school studies have refined students' tastes, and have been seriously related to the contemporary scene, unless the desire has been instilled to take a serious part in shaping the life of the community, we may well be sceptical as to the educational value of the training given by our schools. We can only conclude once more that salvation from our present practices is to be found only in a more enlightened public attitude toward education, and especially in a higher class of teachers.

And yet it is impossible to believe that our present lack of high educational ideals is permanent. Most Canadians are descended from forbears who made immense sacrifices to give to their children opportunities for real education, not because it was good for some practical purpose, but because it was a supreme good in itself. Many of our best contemporary thinkers are deeply concerned for the welfare of their country, and are beginning to suspect that there is a vital connection between our present discontents and our philosophy of life. Even business men are growing critical regarding the kind of recruits that the schools are providing for them. Perhaps the unsatisfactory results of our present programme may persuade us to engage in a fundamental re-examination of what we want and how we are to secure it.

What is the chief end of man? The question is as vital today as it

ever was, and we shall yet decide to consider it once again even at the expense of taking out some time from the busyness of our daily lives. How should an intelligent man choose to spend the brief span of years allotted to him? What things are worth pursuing? Assuredly, he will devote the most serious attention to securing an adequate livelihood, but surely, too, a man's experience of life should transcend the labours made necessary by his calling. Apart from this there are only two perennial sources of abiding interest—man and his environment. In recent decades he has done wonders in the way of understanding his environment and making it serve his purposes; oddly enough his own reputation has been going down. The study of man, his origin and destiny, the values he should approve in life, leave most men cold. They have no time or desire merely to stand and stare while they speculate on the meaning of the universe, its beauty and tragedy, its infinite complexity. Foolish thoughts of good and ill seem to have lost their appeal.

However true these things may be, there is no reason for despair. "The best public measures", said Benjamin Franklin, "are seldom adopted from previous reason but forced by the occasion." In other words men are taught most effectively by their experience of life, and the occasion may yet force us to find a formula for survival.

#### THE HUMANITIES ARE NOT DEAD

When we consider the possibility of the Humanities regaining in our daily lives the place which they once held, what are the prospects? Let us remember the assets which are still indubitably ours. Even though our economic, political and educational systems are adjusted to serve the dominant purposes of power, there are still many individual members of our community who devote themselves to the arts which have always ministered to human happiness. Many of them still read good books, hear good music and delight in good pictures. For example, the multitude which throngs the Royal Ontario Museum or the Art Gallery of Toronto on a Sunday afternoon bears eloquent witness to the fact that men do not seek bread only. The Sadler's Wells Ballet Company recently gave performances in Toronto to audiences that occupied every available seat at every performance. Across Canada there are no more vital organizations than those devoted to the writing and acting of plays. The best musicians can usually count on large audiences. The members of the Federation of Ontario Naturalists devote their leisure periods largely to such useless pursuits as becoming acquainted with plants and wild life, and learning accurately the songs and habits of birds. Most men and women spare time to cultivate their gardens.

Moreover, entirely outside of our public educational system there are significant voluntary organizations the purpose of which is to understand

the complexities of our common life—to understand and improve, not to secure material profit. The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, with thirty-three branches from Ocean to Ocean, includes in its membership people of all religions, occupations and political creeds. The Institute itself has no political or economic creed except that it is well for men to think more clearly about their common business. By lectures, study groups and scholarly publications, they have made notable contributions to this end, and they have enlisted the voluntary co-operation of a large proportion of the ablest Canadians. Co-operatives of all kinds, Women's Institutes, United Nations Societies, Farm Forums and Citizens' Forums, the Couchiching Institute on Public Affairs, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the Canadian Institute—all are animated by similar ideals. It is in these voluntary organizations that the Humanities still make their irresistible appeal—to those who still find meaning and delight in singing and dancing, in making pictures or wandering in the woods, or in speculating with their fellows on current problems, or exploring the ultimate mysteries.

Never was the work of voluntary organizations more significant than it is today when most men have become accustomed to looking toward government for leadership and direction. They represent the boundless energy of men directed to good objects. They carry on a great work of experimentation and of criticism of contemporary practices. They give scope to the desire of every serious minded man and woman to cooperate with those of their fellows who are like-minded, to cultivate some small area of the cultural life of the nation which makes a special appeal to their tastes or capacities. They represent a fertilizing stream in the national life which enriches not only the lives of the participants but the life of a great number in their communities. In considering a possible revival of the Humanities we may regard voluntary organizations as performing a service akin to that of the mediaeval monks. They in their remote monasteries tended the flickering flame of learning, and so made possible the great illumination of the Renaissance, when men once more became curious to know the truths and interests which had almost vanished from the earth.

Our contemporary world will not forever pursue false ideals of human welfare; "the occasion", in Franklin's words, will instruct them in wisdom. Then they will recall the rich estate of which we are the inheritors—Greece and Rome, Christianity and Democracy, Shakespeare and Milton. Those who believe in a renaissance of the humanities have great allies in human nature itself. When once we are thoroughly wearied of pursuing shadows, all our hopes and ambitions will turn with immense relief to those ideals which throughout history have never failed to appeal to the wisest and best men of all races. From the time of the Greeks, wise men who have speculated on the aims of education have emphasized the importance of new



knowledge as an end in itself, as a gratification of the powerful human instinct to understand more clearly, but they have also insisted that education seeks to add wisdom to knowledge. To be learned is good, but it is essential also, if men are to be intelligent, that they should grow into a more profound understanding of themselves and of their fellows, in order that they may conduct the general business of living more sanely, more satisfyingly. To achieving this purpose scientific knowledge can contribute little; it is assisted chiefly by meditation on aesthetic and moral values, by familiarity with literature, history and philosophy, which concern themselves with human relations and the values in life which have made the strongest appeal to men. It is here that the failure of our contemporary generation is most obvious. Real education needs science, but it also needs the humanities. Its object is to give knowledge and power, but also to give wisdom, understanding and simple happiness in daily life.

No one can understand our contemporary world who has not given serious thought and study both to the sciences and to the humanities. They develop two different kinds of mental capacity, and so reinforce the power of both. Science has taught men that the search for truth must be disinterested, exhaustive, tireless. The work of the scientist consists largely in weighing and measuring, and in this strictly delimited field his ideals of research find their most fruitful application. He seeks to marshal all the relevant evidence, and in a given case he may feel reasonably sure that he has done so; the truth at which he arrives is independent of place or time as such, and in enunciating it he naturally tends to be dogmatic. The humanist is much more hesitant about forecasting the future, for he knows that in his field it is almost impossible to assemble all the relevant considerations. He learns to regard dogmatic prophecy as a gratuitous form of folly.

These differences in outlook may lead to great differences in practical judgement. Unconditional surrender in war as the only terms you will offer to your enemy appeals to the scientific mind, which wishes in this way to control future happenings, to find a complete and final solution. The humanist is more likely to be sceptical about taking counsel from his fears. He is more likely to remember that the enemy of today may be the ally of tomorrow, and to regard insisting on wiping his enemy off the map as a form of madness. In other words, he is content to deal with today's enmity as a passing phenomenon, for he knows that new circumstances may negative the validity of today's thinking:

"That the whole popularly accepted historical framework which we have given to the events of the last fifty years will be revised, and revised so radically that the quarrels between pro-Munich and anti-Munich will seem like the quarrels of Tweedledum and Tweedledee—this, in spite of the colossal power of the vested

interests ready to clamp down upon it, and in spite of the hysterias that some people will try to raise, is the safest prediction that can be made in regard to the next twenty years for anything in the whole range of historical science."<sup>1</sup>

That highly intelligent men can differ so widely in the assumptions which they bring to the business of treaty-making is a chastening reflection. Of course men will always carry with them into their activities their own defects of temperament and training, but the legislator or diplomat may easily find his lack of familiarity with the humanities a fatal defect. The humanist has not lost the arts of meditating and of leisurely conversation. He has thought much of the almost unlimited power exercised by dynamic personalities. He has tried to weigh the significance of such organic changes in human life as our contemporary mechanization and urbanization. When he faces a supremely important question such as the possibility of abolishing war, all his past study of history, philosophy and literature comes to his assistance. He knows that if we cannot end wars all our other schemes for human welfare will come to naught. In brief, the world today in its search for political wisdom is largely dependent on those who have given years to the study of human relations—the humanists.

What is an educated man? The question has been endlessly discussed, and at the risk of obvious failure we may make one more attempt to answer it. The educated man is one who knows that he is not, and never can be, educated in any final sense, but who has an unquenchable thirst to continue his education. His greatest ally in this project of self-education he finds in the critical reading of good books. He is ambitious to know as much as possible of the best thinking that has been done in the world. To achieve this aim seems to him a supreme good, not because it will make him a more efficient professional or business man, but because it is an ultimate good, its own justification. He may hope that long and intimate association with wise men may somewhat increase his own capacity for wisdom. In the language of an earlier generation it may enable him to glorify God and enjoy Him forever. It will enable him to develop the latent possibilities of his own nature, and to live more abundantly, to enter more fully into the experience and ideals of the race. This greater sense of community with his fellows is one of the deepest satisfactions open to him. It provides a firm base and justification for his aspiring to take wisdom for his own province. Such a towering ambition is rationally possible only to him who has made and continues to make a serious effort to know as much as possible of the best that great men have thought and said throughout the centuries.

<sup>1</sup>Herbert Butterfield, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge.

## CHANGE

Those who desire to see the humanities restored to their pride of place in our civilization may feel assured that their hopes will come to fruition if they are worthy. In the meantime we must be patient—and diligent. We must bear public testimony to our faith in our beliefs, and we must encourage in all possible ways those who share them. None of us understands clearly the nature of the forces which are in conflict; we can only guess that we are living through one of the great revolutionary periods in human history. No ambition is more laudable today than the ambition to make even a very small contribution to clearer thinking, for this is a necessary preliminary to wiser action. If the great body of men once suspect that there is a close relation between our philosophy of life and the unhappy events through which we are living, the first long step will have been taken toward reform. We may then decide that hating and fearing Communism, for instance, is a sterile creed and inadequate to live by, and we may decide to make our practice of Democracy correspond more closely to the noble principles on which it is founded. We may then recover the initiative in the cold war we are waging, and find ourselves committed to a constructive programme which will absorb all our energies. We shall then think of wealth and power as mighty instruments when used in the battle to produce a better people—better in health, in education and in aspirations. If we believe that morality is the nature of things we may be equally sure that our eventual triumph is written in the stars.

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## PHILOSOPHY

GEORGE P. GRANT

THE study of philosophy is the analysis of the traditions of our society and the judgment of those traditions against our varying intuitions of the Perfection of God. It is the contemplation of our own and others' activity, in the hope that by understanding it better we may make it less imperfect. At the centre of the traditional faith of the West has been the understanding that there are two approaches to reality, the contemplative and the active, and that only in the careful proportioning of these can individuals and societies, find health. The contemplative life whether mystical, artistic or philosophic has therefore been encouraged by societies not only for the good of the contemplative himself but because his influence upon more active members was considered of value. Philosophy was therefore encouraged as the rational form of such contemplation.

Such a definition of philosophy asserts that it is in no sense limited to being a technical subject confined to specialists in universities. It is an activity necessary for all sorts and conditions of men—politicians and saints, artists and business men, scientists and farmers—if such men are to relate their particular functions to the general ends which society desires.

Philosophy is not then confined to a subject found in university calendars. Yet at the same time universities are the focal points upon which will depend in large measure the state of rational contemplation in the rest of society. In the universities, society allows scholars the time and the freedom to contemplate the universe, to partake of the wisdom of the past, to add their small measure to the understanding of that wisdom and to transmit the great tradition to certain chosen members of the younger generation. If the universities are not rich in the practice of philosophy it is unlikely that less favoured parts of the community will be much touched by it. Therefore what follows will be concerned with the teaching and practice of philosophy as it is carried on in our universities.

In writing of this question it is only realism to pose the problem pessimistically. Why do our universities fail in providing a place where young Canadians are encouraged to think about their world in the broadest and deepest way? That the universities are not providing such a place is but to state a truism. Can it be doubted that Canadian universities today

exist essentially as technical schools for the training of specialists? They turn out doctors and physicists, economists and chemists, lawyers and social workers, psychologists and agriculturalists, dietitians and sociologists, and these technicians are not being called upon in any systematic way to relate their necessary techniques to any broader whole. Even the traditional humane subjects such as history, the classics and European literature are in many cases being taught as techniques by which the students can hope to earn his living, not as useful introductions to the sweep of our spiritual tradition.

Indeed behind the character of our classrooms lies the fact that this production of technicians is being encouraged by the dominant forces that shape society. The general voting public (that is, the parents of the young) think of the university as a place where the child can become a specialist and so equip himself to enter or to remain in the more economically fortunate part of society. Governments—provincial and federal—use their influence to see that practical training is encouraged, so that the society will not be ill-equipped in any necessary technique, whether that technique be appropriate to a university or not. Anyone who has sat on a faculty of graduate studies knows well that the ablest students are being encouraged (in that clearest form of encouragement—the financial) to become technicians, by our government. Students who want to become physicists, biochemists etc., know that if they are at all promising they will receive help from the National Research Council, the Department of Defence, etc. Students in such fields also know that there will be lucrative jobs waiting for them when their studies are finished. On the other hand, those students who are studying in the general humane tradition know that financial help in their fields is small and that jobs will be hard to find when they are through. Finally it must be said that the university authorities themselves do little to control this tendency. In some universities in English-speaking Canada, there are four times as many people teaching physics as teaching philosophy, and three times as many people teaching animal husbandry.

These general facts about our universities must be mentioned, for it is clearly impossible for the study of philosophy to flourish in such an atmosphere. Philosophy is not in essence a technique. Its purpose is to relate and see in unity all techniques, so that the physicist for instance can relate his activity to the fact of moral freedom, the economist see the productive capacity of his nation in relation to the Love of God.

The prime reason, no doubt, for this state of affairs in Canada is the fact of our short history, most of which has been taken up with the practical business of a pioneering nation. Such a society must put its energies into those pursuits that will achieve material ends. The active rather than the contemplative life perforce becomes the ideal. Anything

that will effectively overcome hardship must be welcomed with enthusiasm. That concentration on material ends and admiration for the man of action continues for a long while after it has ceased to be a necessity.

In a subtler way our pioneering background has affected our taste for rational contemplation. A pioneering society in which there are obvious material accomplishments open to all men of average intelligence leads to an optimism about the universe much like the optimism associated with youth. The tragedy and complexity of maturity are not so evident as in an ancient and more static society. When the spiritual difficulties of maturity arise, the cry of "Go west, young man" can help individuals to avoid them. It is out of a sense of tragedy and uncertainty more than anything else that the need for philosophical speculation arises. A young nation in its sureness and confidence is thus basically unphilosophical.

Yet, lest our short history be used as a sufficient justification of our lack of interest in the contemplative arts, it is humbling to remember that two or three generations ago when the country was small and poor, Canada in proportion to its size was far more ready to support the "impractical" studies than it is today. Both within the Protestant and Roman Catholic traditions of English-speaking society the small and poor community struggled to establish universities in which chairs of classics, philosophy and theology were considered the essentials. The traditions of Christian Europe which the early settlers brought with them did not allow them to believe that man lives by bread alone, even when bread was far more scarce than it is today. It is therefore necessary to look beyond the mere fact of our youth for the causes of the materialist concentration in our universities.

It is but another truism to say that Canada has come to maturity, not in isolation but as a member of the western society of nations. Our spiritual climate is largely formed by our partaking in the ideas of that civilization, which during the years of Canada's development, was being transformed by the new mass industrialism. With that industrialism went certain dominant ideas that effected an almost incalculable spiritual change in the west. In the light of the amazing power of science, men no longer doubted that they could easily perfect their societies. In the field of knowledge the slogan was "knowledge for power", in the expectation that with such power all would be well. In the field of education there arose the egalitarian slogans with their contempt for the "impractical" and the "academic". Men often forgot the need of those disciplines that once had been considered a potent influence in preventing us from becoming beasts. The more Canada has become part of the scientific world of the west, the more it has partaken of ideas such as these, and the tragedy of its youth has been that the bonds of tradition have been less strong with us than elsewhere. What can the place of the philosopher be in the mass world,



when by definition, philosophic knowledge is not open to the stereotyped mass, and when the philosopher cannot believe that salvation is achieved by techniques? What is the role of the philosopher in the universities which have in general accepted the aspirations of their societies— aspirations that leave little place for the practice of contemplation?

Tragically the scandal must be admitted that, with rare exceptions, philosophers in Western society have joined in the aspirations of the scientific age. The lie that knowledge exists only to provide power has been as much in the soul of philosophers as in the rest of society. The chief schools of thought in Canada among energetic philosophers in the 1920's and 1930's were pragmatism and positivism. What do such positions mean but that ideas are true insofar as they help men manipulate their natural environment? Along with Marxism (on the whole less potent among Canadian philosophers) they tend towards the position that all men's problems may be solved by scientific technique. Canadian philosophers indeed have joined as fully as any part of the western world in making philosophy the servant rather than the judge of men's scientific abilities. Young Canadians have quite logically drawn the correct conclusion from such an attitude. If philosophy is merely the servant of science, then they are better occupied studying with the master rather than with the servant.

Associated with the philosopher's willingness to make his subject serve the interests of physical science has been the dream of modern philosophy—that it might free itself from its traditional dependence upon the theological dogmas of faith. Canadian philosophers have shared in this secular hope as deeply as have their fellows in the rest of the western world. This hope has been connected intimately with the gradual secularizing of those universities founded within the Protestant tradition. Philosophy was thought of as a secular study to suit the modern world and the secular university. It is not possible here to enter in any adequate way upon the ancient controversy as to the proper relation between philosophy and theology—between the discoveries of reason and the discoveries of faith. Yet it would seem that unless philosophy is to become a purely negative discipline, it must have some kind of dependence on faith—whatever faith that may be. Reason not guided by faith cannot but find itself in the position of destroying everything and establishing nothing. And though one of the roles of philosophy must be destructive and critical, if that be its only role it cannot hope to have any profound or abiding influence on society. Active men depend upon faith of some sort for their very existence. It is not surprising that the destructive philosophy that characterized western universities after 1914 led students to give up the study of philosophy as pointless. When philosophers are jejune enough to deny in the name of secularism and science the possibility of rational faith, then young

men and women in their need of faith will simply bypass the philosophers. Society will suffer the tragedy of men looking for their faiths outside the rational discipline that it is the function of philosophy to provide in the search for faith. Society suffers the tragedy of their youth finding faith in such childish hopes as Marxism, in such unbalanced cults as the Jehovah's Witnesses. It would seem clear then that only as philosophy finds its roots in religious faith will it once again have a profound influence on young Canadians. The teaching of philosophy in our Canadian universities is then not only bound up with the question of what our universities are to be but also with the larger question of what our Churches are to be.

To face as the primary thesis of this essay that philosophical studies are in no healthy state in Canada must not prevent mention of the good things that have been done and are being done. The Roman Catholic tradition in English-speaking Canada may be mentioned first because it has always been numerically smaller and because it has maintained relatively unbroken its traditional attitude to the role of philosophic speculation. It has always maintained its ancient trust in the activities of speculative reason for certain carefully chosen of its members, so long as that speculation is carried on within the limits of its closely defined faith. The Roman Catholic Colleges and Universities have always insisted that their best pupils go out into the world with some grounding in the traditions of scholastic philosophy—that is, in the reasonable framework of the theology of their Church. They have been insistent that the training of rational Roman Catholics was at least as important as the training of efficient economists or physicists. Often the technicians have made the claim that students from these universities have not as adequate a technical knowledge as students trained elsewhere. The philosopher can but ask whether this lack of technical width (if it be a fact) is not more than counter-balanced by the other ends that their education has served.

A notable step in Roman Catholic philosophic activity was the recent establishment of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. This institution is connected with St. Michael's College and through it to the University of Toronto. It calls together Roman Catholic scholars of the first magnitude to pursue their studies in the fields of mediaeval history and political thought, mediaeval philosophy and theology. To it come post-graduate students who can pursue their own studies in this field under scholars of first-rate calibre. Concentration is laid on the study of St. Thomas Aquinas, so that students have the possibility of mastering a great system of thought. From such an institution as this, well-disciplined teachers go back into the undergraduate fields equipped to pass on something of the unity of their particular tradition. Other institutions have much to learn from places such as this, from which undergraduate

studies receive their life-blood and in which different studies are so intertwined as to learn the values of each other.

It is more difficult to understand what has been accomplished in philosophy among those institutions that belong to the Protestant tradition. Protestants, whether in Canada or elsewhere, have been less certain in their formulations of the relation of philosophy to faith, than have the Roman Catholics. They have never been willing to maintain such ecclesiastical discipline as could preserve a consistent stand on the matter. On the one hand, Luther's great affirmation that the Word of God is sufficient for the Christian has ever made certain branches of the Protestant Church wary of speculation as a pagan activity that adds nothing to the faith by which men are saved. On the other hand the liberal elements that have become increasingly dominant within the Protestant Churches have sought a close alliance between philosophy and theology so that the Church would have a rational apologetic with which to face the world. Yet again certain secularist elements that have increasingly sheltered within traditionally Protestant institutions have gone so far as to seek the freeing of philosophy from any dependence upon faith, even in those very institutions founded and supported by men of the Protestant faith. The results of the first and third of these tendencies have, though contradictory, led in the same direction. Philosophy has been, by and large, taught in the universities of non-Catholic Canada as a secular study not necessarily connected with the progress of faith. As a result of this anomaly, a subject such as philosophy, which deals with the wholeness of existence, has been in no way related to the faith from which the universities sprang, and indeed is sometimes in direct contradiction to that faith. This anomaly has been left largely undebated both by men who were avowedly Protestants and by the secularists.

What has happened to the universities and colleges that originally sprang from the Protestant tradition? Do these universities in any sense continue to think of themselves as servants of that tradition or do they think of themselves as secular? Clearly on the answer to that problem will depend the character of the philosophy which will develop in our colleges. This history of Queen's University may be taken as an example of what is involved in this problem. About half a century ago Queen's decided to sever its official connection with the Presbyterian Church from which it had sprung. It did this in the hope that it could thereby play a wider role in the national life. Did the men responsible for this decision visualize that philosophy would then be taught as a study unconnected with the faith? In looking at the documents of the time it is difficult to suppose that the men who advocated this course did so intend. Yet half a century later the content of the teaching in the Faculty of Arts at that university is found to be almost entirely secular. The universities controlled by their



respective provincial governments raise another problem. If to be non-denominational means to be non-religious, is philosophy (as a general university subject) to be taught as a secular study?

The churches themselves have a great stake in this question of the teaching of philosophy. In the past presumably they have thought of the universities to which they have sent their young members (whether laymen or incipient members of the clergy) as institutions closely related to the Church. Yet in the past, the study of philosophy in these institutions has just as often served as a destroyer of the faith rather than the creator of the rational groundwork to that faith. It must be admitted that the Protestant Churches have been remarkably unconcerned with a state of affairs which has done much to vitiate their strength.

Indeed the prime difficulty in estimating what our philosophic ideas have been is that Canada during the period that those ideas were forming has witnessed the change among influential sections of the population from being Protestants to being secularists. Though this has not been true of the majority of Canadians, it has been true of a large percentage of the intellectually gifted people who shape our society and to whom reasoning is a possibility. Such a remarkable and deep-seated change in our national life has naturally confused our philosophising.

Despite the difficulties of understanding what philosophy has meant within the Protestant tradition, certain real achievements must be recognized. These have been generally accomplished by men of Great Britain, educated in the Christian and classical studies of that country. Many of these scholars did noble work in revealing the value of such studies to many generations of Canadians. Two fine examples of this kind of teaching may be singled out: the work of Professor Watson at Queen's around the turn of the century, and the work of Professor Brett at Toronto University in the third and fourth decades of this century. Because these men had been trained in European philosophy with its faith in human reason's pursuit of the Good, they could bring a tradition to Canada far more profound and ordered than the pragmatisms which were influencing us from the south. They had been brought up in societies that had been for centuries Protestant and so could help keep alive in Canada those ideas out of which the English-speaking forms of our society had been born.

One difficulty of having Englishmen as our leading teachers of philosophy must however be mentioned. As has been said earlier, these men were teaching at a time when the conception of the contemplative arts was being radically assailed in Canada. The fact that the men who were deeply involved in keeping this conception alive were generally men bred in Great Britain, often meant that they were unable to transpose the vital issues of philosophy into sufficiently Canadian terms to make them

of burning interest to young Canadians. This failure became increasingly important as the forms of life in Canada became more differentiated from those in Great Britain. To say this is in no sense to stand on the dogmas of a narrow Canadian nationalism, or to imply that Canadians have not important things to learn from men trained in Great Britain. It is however to say that a philosophy department must not only have the conservative aim of acquainting students with ideas from our past, but also the prophetic aim of showing what those ideas mean in our actual present existence. It is certainly true that in any Canadian department of philosophy there is ample room for teachers from Europe who will almost certainly understand the past of Europe better than will Canadians. But their work must be carried on within a context of Canadian teaching impregnated with our history and the form of our institutions and ideals. Often in the past, philosophy has seemed a pursuit which turned out cultured Europeans, but hardly an absolutely necessary activity for Canadians.

During the last years there have appeared the first signs of an indigenous Canadian approach to the problem of philosophy. All over the western world, the multiplying tragedies that have occurred since 1914 have turned more sensitive minds to a new assessment of human existence. The dimming of the optimistic hopes that characterized the first industrial expansion has led men to seek a faith that has a fuller answer to the tragedies of experience. In the best of all possible worlds there was little need to speculate deeply. As optimism declines, there is more reason to do so.

The evidence for this new awakening to our problem is indeed hard to assemble. Yet it is impossible to be with young Canadians and not feel an eager and questioning curiosity, a dissatisfaction with easy answers, out of which a truly Canadian philosophy might be born. This possible awakening is seen at a further level in the scholarly writings that are appearing. Canadian scholars are beginning to produce works of a profounder nature than studies of the wheat trade and the development of responsible government in Canada. It must be noted that these new works are not so much coming from men in the philosophy departments proper as from men whose studies are in one of the specialized fields. Such studies have led men to understand the limits of their fields seen in isolation, and so to an attempt to relate that field to the problem of human existence as a whole. Thus their thought has become philosophical. Too often those in the philosophy departments proper have not been to the same degree challenged by the modern world so as to face the problems of philosophy in this living way.

The work of the late Professor C. N. Cochrane of Toronto may be taken as a noble example of this new Canadian interest in the problems of

philosophy at their most profound and necessary level. His *magnum opus*, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, (Oxford, 1940), shows how interest in a particular field of human study drives the sensitive thinker out into the very midst of those spiritual problems that beset the modern world. In his early writings it is clear that he considered the historian's job was simply to say what had happened and to leave to other men the deeper judgments as to the meaning of history. As in most of this scientific investigation, the values that sustained the society were assumed, by an implicit faith, to be certain, and therefore not the concern of the scholar to defend. Yet in *Christianity and Classical Culture* Cochrane goes far beyond this "objective" tradition and raises the profoundest questions about human destiny. He questions the very possibility of the aloof scholarship that he had once practised. To read the work is to understand that the history of the ancient world has been illuminated for him by the predicaments of his own society, and that he uses the example of the ancient world to throw his light towards the solution of the modern predicaments. A work such as *Christianity and Classical Culture* is not one to fall under the heading of light reading, even to the trained mind. It is the kind of work that will not influence large numbers at one time, but will influence and continue to influence the few. Such indeed must always be the role of significant philosophy—to affect the spirits of the intellectually gifted and through them to filter down into society as a whole.

One may cite other examples of specialists who in moving beyond the limits of their techniques see the broader questions of knowledge. In Professor's Frye's recent work on William Blake—*Fearful Symmetry*—full recognition is given to the fact that Blake's writing cannot be understood through the criteria of literary criticism alone, but must be judged within the wider reference of the interpretation of experience that Blake attempts. Thus his work is not limited in interest to the scholar of English literature, nor does it merely maintain that a cultured man should be interested in poetry. Rather through the study of one poet it raises basic problems about the nature of man with which all are concerned whether they will not. Yet another example is Professor Woodhouse's *Puritanism and Liberty*. Even Professor Innes, who in his early work rigidly confined himself to technical questions of economic history, has expanded in his recent lectures on *Empire and Communications* to relate the questions of economics to their wider philosophical background.

These examples of Canadian thinkers who have shown themselves willing to go beyond scholarship to more general questions of human import are encouraging to those who would hope for a native tradition of Canadian philosophy. They are signs that Canadians are no longer willing simply to accept from the more important nations of the western world their assumption about human life. There is the beginning of a



recognition by Canadian scholars that we cannot count on our spiritual tradition remaining alive automatically. There is a realization at the intellectual level that Canadians can no longer afford to play the role of debtor nation to the western tradition, but must play their part in conserving and enlivening that tradition. Even more so, there is the understanding—and here the work of Cochrane must be especially noted—of how much the wisdom of that tradition has already been trodden under foot in our concentration on developing the mass society. Cochrane makes clear that only in realizing how close the intellectual life of Canada has come to losing the wisdom of a pre-scientific age will the strength and vitality be found to work towards the rediscovery of such wisdom.

At the more immediate level, these examples of a renewed interest in philosophical and theological wisdom point to some conclusion as to how philosophy could better fulfil its unifying role among our various necessary techniques. First and foremost it lights up the fact that most of our ablest teachers and students must perforce be technical specialists. Those who recognize the need for philosophical studies in Canada must work within the limits that are imposed by the hard facts of our situation. To put it historically, it is not possible in Canada to recreate the mediaeval idea of the university, or to copy the form of Classical Greats which held so great an influence over the education of the privileged classes of Great Britain in the nineteenth century. If philosophic studies are to be revived, it must be by reviving them among students and teachers whose first duty is the pursuit of some specialism such as law or history, economics or medicine. The hope is that specialists may see the interdependence of their speciality and the general questions of human existence. This philosophic interest must not be confined to those who are going to be academic practioners of their specialism, but must include those students who are to become more active members in society, whether as judges, doctors, civil servants or scientists in the great industries. The tragic split between the men of action and the men of contemplation must be overcome; the philosophers must recognize the relation of philosophy to the problem of society, and the spirit of philosophy must be infused into those who must act. Such an end is clearly an ideal impossible of achievement but a move towards it is the only hope of reviving the contemplative life.

At the undergraduate level, something in this direction is already carried out in most Canadian universities. A majority of students who are studying for the B.A. are at one time or another exposed to some philosophy. To a lesser degree this is true of those working towards a B.Sc. Courses in philosophy for engineering and medical students are becoming more of a commonplace in our calendars. It may be said, however, that often these classes in philosophy serve as a pleasant cultural appendage rather than as something central to the business of living. The main

difficulty still remains that those students in B.A. and B.Sc. courses who are really capable of sustained and systematic thought are being encouraged to specialize. Our arts faculties are a series of unrelated departments, so that the students receive little sense of the unity of human knowledge. In the sciences this is perhaps understandable; in the arts it is a tragic disgrace. Our technical tradition in the arts is a narrowing circle. The students we train in that specialist tradition in time become teachers themselves and thereby further atomize the arts faculties. This narrowing circle is tightened by the fact that professors have a tendency to compete like *prima donnas* and to use their influence to persuade students to specialize with them rather than to help them to gain a broader education.

The question is, how can the narrowing circle be broken? With the present state of Canadian universities it does not seem possible that the return to a more unified conception of education can be achieved by reforms in our undergraduate arrangements. Rather our hope must be to broaden our graduate studies so that the graduates thereby produced may one day be in a position to do something about our undergraduate teaching. Today it must be recognized that our society and its universities are so organized as to admit large numbers to higher education who are not capable of advanced thought, and that therefore undergraduate studies must perforce be limited in their scope and expectations. Those students who have shown themselves able to continue their studies at the graduate level in a specialized field are just the members of society who will benefit from the unifying discipline of philosophy. Also they will be older, and as Plato and Aristotle both point out, philosophy can best start when men have some experience on which to philosophize. The chief aim of philosophy in Canada should then be to see that graduate students continue their studies not simply in an ever narrowing field of specialism but within some kind of philosophic framework. Nothing else could do more to increase the strength of the contemplative tradition in Canada. It may be said that if something were accomplished in this direction the title "Doctor of Philosophy" might once again signify what it is supposed to signify.

How can something be done towards this end? First is the question of how those who teach these advanced techniques may be brought to realize the value of their students beholding their studies within a wide whole, and may be persuaded to allow them to spend some of their time on work towards this purpose. Secondly, there is the question of how the general public may come to recognize that this is an end on which time and money must be spent. In both cases it is only sensible to admit that any movement away from our present situation will be slow. A change in the attitude of society seems improbable unless the first moves be made by the university authorities—both the teachers and the boards of governors. So often our university authorities have seen themselves as the servants

rather than the teachers of the public. They have given way to the pressures of popularity. If the universities give a lead in this matter, they must be willing to pay the price of such a lead. The price in a democratic and industrial society such as ours will be the accusation of being "academic" and "impractical". Also it may be said that the lead must probably come from the wealthier universities in the larger centres who are more able for financial reasons to resist outside clamours.

One step would be a change in the curriculum of our graduate schools, so that advanced degrees would not be granted unless the student shows some grip of the tradition. This would require some real philosophic study. Since the curriculum of the graduate schools is in the hands of the academic personnel, a change in this direction would be an immediate possibility. How can the Ph.D. have any meaning as a degree, or any right to its title, if it be granted to students who are not required to show any formal understanding of the relation of their subject to the questions of human existence as a whole? Toronto University does something in this direction. However, when one reads technical theses which have been accepted for the doctorate at that university, and which are devoid of the primary elements of philosophic thought, one can only be dubious of what is being accomplished. It has often been the way of modern men to laugh at the mediaeval student for discussing how many angels could stand on the point of a needle. Our modern laughter must be humbled by reading theses on the excreta of rats for which Ph.D's have been awarded.

The concern of the governors of our universities is the sheerly quantitative question of number of teachers. Most philosophy departments are now staffed as if philosophy were one of the less important techniques taught at the university. If it is to be more than that, if its role is to provide some unity between various studies, then the governors must be willing to spend enough money to make this possible. Sheer quantity of teachers will by itself achieve nothing. It is nevertheless a *sine qua non*. A tradition of rational speculation is not something that a society can buy cheaply—a pleasant extra that coats the real business of improving the standard of living.

More important than sheer numbers are the subtler questions of what kind of teachers one wants and how they may best be trained. The teachers of philosophy, if they are to have influence, must be men who are not only steeped in the wisdom of the past but who are also aware of society as it is. Above all they must be aware of the meaning of the various other studies in the university. Only in this way can they fulfil their special responsibility for making clear to the university community that their subject is not another specialism but related to all studies. Nothing has done the practice of philosophy more harm than the idea of some scientists



that philosophy is another science of the same kind as theirs. The narrow vocabulary and approach of certain philosophers has been largely responsible for that illusion. Therefore our teachers must be men able to expose that illusion by teaching philosophy in a broad and living way.

A chief step must then be in the setting up of graduate schools in which this narrow approach to philosophy can be broken down. Here the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies must once more be referred to. For of all institutions now existing in Canada, it seems to point most surely in the right direction. There one sees a graduate institution which approaches the activities of the human spirit in a unified way, and all in relation to a particular tradition. Philosophy is not seen as an isolated technique but as something related to the other facets of the Catholic life—history and theology, art and liturgy. To repeat, the students from such an institution have a wholeness about their attitude to learning not found among many of the students who have done their work in the atomized graduate schools of our country.

Immediately the question arises about the cost of establishing such institutions. One advantage of the Roman Catholic Church over others is the economic saving of a celibate priesthood. But the cost in other traditions should not be prohibitive, especially when it is compared to the money spent on the researches of physical science. The enormous money spent on guaranteeing the physical health of our society would not be necessary in establishing institutions such as these which would guard our spiritual health. The question is simply whether a society gains more from its M.I.T.'s or from its Institutes of Mediaeval Studies.

The difficulty immediately arises of whether these institutions in non-Roman Catholic education should be secular or professedly Christian. This however need not be a difficulty. Those universities which now admit they are simply secularist will probably be quite content with their graduate schools as they already are. If not, they could set up Institutes of Humane Study or some such title. Protestant universities or colleges that maintain their Christian affiliations could set up schools for Christian study very much like the Institute of Mediaeval Studies. From what has been said earlier there can be no doubt which of these two types of institution the present writer would expect to be the more effective. The dependence of philosophy upon theology makes such a conclusion necessary. From such institutions a start might be made in seeing that our spiritual traditions were once more in close relation to the life of action. Thence would come the vitality which might recreate our universities into what they should always have been—centres of rational thought about the universe.

Inevitably in a young country such as Canada, one must write about the teaching of philosophy in the spirit of things hoped for, not in the pride of what has been accomplished. Upon what is likely to be accomplished,

it would be folly to speculate. As in all the slow intangible accomplishments of the human spirit, its quality will depend on whether men look for the long term or the short term results. In the short view, the advantages are clearly with the continued production of technicians by our higher education. The question will be decided by whether our political leaders and civil servants, our business men and educators come to see more clearly the long term advantages of training our able youth in a contemplative as well as an active approach to life. It will depend indeed on whether they see the incalculable advantages that will pertain to any society which has a contemplative tradition strong enough to act as a brake on the rightly impetuous men of action. In the world we live in the need of such an influence should become increasingly apparent.

The tragedy must be admitted that, just as the controlling forces in our western world are beginning to understand how deeply our spiritual traditions need guarding, and that some of our energy must be diverted from technology towards that purpose, our society is being challenged to defend itself against a barbaric Empire that puts its faith in salvation by the machine. This must inevitably mean that a large percentage of western wealth be spent on the mechanism of defence.

As this essay is addressed to a Royal Commission, something must be said in closing of how interdependent is the progress of philosophy with the progress of the arts. The practice and enjoyment of the arts has only flourished in the past among men who have had some understanding of the wholeness of life, and who therefore could see the true purposes of art in relation to the other necessary activities of human existence. A supreme artist such as J. S. Bach could use the techniques of his craft to the full because he understood the purpose of his art within the wider range of human function. Equally the community for which Bach wrote could appreciate his music because they had some vision of what music meant in the total progress of the human soul. Philosophy cannot produce that intuition of the beautiful out of which art arises, but it can help to promote that unity of mind in which such intuitions will best flourish. The same may be said of letters. Though it is suggested in this essay that applied science is already overdeveloped in Canada, philosophy can give that unity of mind out of which the speculations of pure science arise. The development of the philosophical disciplines in our universities would provide the kind of integrated minds among educated Canadians through which the arts of civilization could flourish in some balanced proportion.

In closing, the present writer has no alternative but to repeat once again his conviction that the practice of philosophy (and for that matter, all the arts of civilization) will depend on a prior condition—namely the intensity and concentration of our faith in God. It is a great illusion

that scepticism breeds thought and that doubt is the producer of art. The sceptic fails in that courage which alone can buttress the tiring discipline of being rational. Why should those who believe there is so little to know spend their energy in the hard activity of contemplation? As the late A.N. Whitehead wrote, it is in the ages of faith that men pursue truth and beauty. It would be impudence indeed in this essay to suggest how and when we Canadians will reach a fuller and more balanced intuition of God. It is not impudence however to point out that without such faith it will be vain to expect any great flowering of our culture in general and of our philosophy in particular.

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## LA PHILOSOPHIE AU CANADA DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE

CHARLES DE KONINK

### LA PHILOSOPHIE ET LA COMMUNAUTÉ POLITIQUE

**I**L nous faut d'abord justifier, aux yeux du citoyen, le choix de ce sujet d'étude et le motif pour lequel nous acceptons de le traiter à la demande d'une Commission instituée par le Gouvernement fédéral du Canada. Notre tâche serait peut-être moins ardue si la philosophie était une connaissance à tous égards semblable à celle des sciences strictement expérimentales—depuis la physique jusqu'à la psychologie—et si elle pouvait en outre fournir des engins et produire des guérisons. Quoi qu'il en soit, la question est de savoir comment l'enseignement de la philosophie peut être digne de l'attention du public canadien.

Partons d'un exemple concret. C'était au temps de la Conférence de Téhéran. Nous étions alors aux Etats-Unis, et le journaliste d'un quotidien local nous demanda ce que nous pensions de cette rencontre. Nous n'avions d'abord aucune opinion à exprimer sur ce sujet. Mais les journalistes ont une manière d'insister. Le lendemain, on pouvait lire dans le journal qu'un conférencier de passage s'était hasardé à exprimer l'opinion que, malgré la supériorité de notre puissance matérielle, nous pouvions regretter que nos propres représentants ne fussent pas bien préparés à discuter sur un pied d'égalité avec le Dictateur communiste, n'ayant jamais donné des preuves de nature à nous rassurer sur leur connaissance de la doctrine philosophique qui anime l'action et les tactiques du marxiste. Même une soi-disant neutralité en matière philosophique ne peut se permettre le luxe d'ignorer une doctrine fondamentale dont les communistes se réclament pour justifier toutes leurs actions.

Nous croyons qu'il est aujourd'hui moins risqué de contester l'opinion que le qualificatif de "russe" puisse à lui seul expliquer un impérialisme qui, partout et dans la mesure où il peut le faire impunément, supprime volontiers par tous les moyens, et par "la critique des armes" s'il le faut, toute croyance en Dieu et en l'image de Dieu dans l'homme.

Il serait souverainement injuste d'imputer à nos seuls gouvernants la confusion, la faiblesse où nous laissent cette ignorance des idées directrices de l'adversaire et cette indifférence à l'endroit d'un ordre de pensée où son action très concrète veut prendre son premier et principal appui. Outre qu'on ne peut tenir nos représentants dûment élus pour seuls respon-

sables de leur manque d'information et de leur attitude envers l'ancienne alliée, il est même loisible de croire que si, dans leurs délibérations et engagements, ils avaient tenu compte de cette philosophie marxiste, un nombre décisif de leurs électeurs auraient protesté—et parmi ceux-ci des éducateurs, des universitaires même, auraient sans doute été les premiers. C'est que depuis longtemps nous avons vécu sur l'illusion que la vie politique des hommes est en réalité—ou du moins devrait être—parfaitement indépendante de toute conception que l'on peut se faire de la nature de l'homme tout court et de son destin. Il a fallu, pour nous rappeler à la vérité des choses, le choc de l'expérience, c'est-à-dire la preuve sensible de l'asservissement de l'homme tout entier, corps et âme, par une puissance alliée qui prétend agir de la sorte en vertu de sa conception générale des choses et de la vie. Croyant que nous pouvons laisser sans réponse et comme hors propos certaines questions fondamentales antérieures aux problèmes strictement politiques, nous n'étions pas susceptibles de voir que, durant ce sommeil agnostique, s'éveillait et se formait, grâce au vide créé par notre indifférence, et à nos frais, cette puissance réelle, sensible, qui aujourd'hui menace autant les agnostiques que les hommes qui défendent des biens supérieurs à ceux de la communauté politique et soutiennent que César vient après Dieu.

Le mot de "totalitarisme" est aujourd'hui à la mode pour caractériser le communisme et le fascisme. C'est avec raison que nous appelons totalitaire, au sens péjoratif, une doctrine ou une pratique qui prend la partie pour le tout. Cependant, comme tous les termes à la mode, et surtout ceux qui sont injurieux, celui de totalitarisme est chargé d'émotion. Aveuglés, nous ne remarquons pas qu'une expression injurieuse peut parfois s'appliquer à nous-mêmes en un sens plus profond et plus subtil qu'à l'adversaire. C'est le cas du mot en cause. Quand nous pensons que les idées et les actions politiques—elles qui souvent ne dépassent même pas le niveau de l'économique et aboutissent parfois à des conflits mortels—sont parfaitement autonomes et indépendantes de toute pensée qui n'est pas elle-même politique, non seulement nous nous leurrions, puisque cette position est déjà inéluctablement philosophique, mais nous méritons nous aussi d'être qualifiés de totalitaires. Car, pour toute fin pratique, une telle conception identifie un seul aspect de l'homme, c'est-à-dire son caractère politique, avec la totalité de son être. En effet, lorsque le citoyen est envoyé sur le champ de bataille, c'est l'homme tout entier qui s'y rend, c'est toute une vie d'homme, et non pas simplement une abstraite entité politique, qui peut s'y perdre. En d'autres termes, la communauté politique peut-elle ignorer le fait que le citoyen est un homme, et qu'il n'appartient pas au pouvoir politique comme tel de déterminer quelle est la nature de l'homme, ni même quelle est la nature du citoyen? Celui-ci peut-il être indifférent à tout ce que l'intelligence des siècles a pensé de la



nature de l'homme et de son destin, de la vie et de la mort, du bien et du mal?

Notons-le bien, nous ne nous plaçons pas ici au point de vue religieux ou théologique, mais simplement au point de vue de cette sagesse à laquelle les hommes peuvent atteindre par la seule raison. On dira que cette raison est bien faible, comme en témoigne le grand nombre de doctrines philosophiques souvent contraires les unes aux autres. Et l'on ne manquera pas d'attirer l'attention sur la différence entre les gens de philosophie, et ceux que nous appelons les savants. Il est vrai que ces derniers émettent souvent, eux aussi, des opinions contraires, mais au moins finissent-ils par se mettre d'accord sous la contrainte de l'expérience. Aussi bien, quoi qu'il en soit des théories scientifiques, les recherches des savants fournissent des résultats pratiques dont personne ne contestera l'utilité, voire la nécessité. C'est pourquoi tout le monde comprend l'opportunité des secours publics accordés aux centres de recherches scientifiques. Par contre, entre philosophes, les contradictions grandissent toujours en nombre et en espèces. Dès lors, comment les institutions d'enseignement philosophique pourraient-elles présenter quelque intérêt du point de vue de la communauté politique?

A la réflexion, et l'exemple que nous avons cité plus haut en témoigne, les répercussions pratiques des idées philosophiques peuvent être beaucoup plus concrètes qu'on ne voulait d'abord l'admettre. Que si nous ne voulons pas reconnaître que le communisme marxiste est premièrement une philosophie—on ne peut du reste la comprendre en dehors du contexte des philosophies qui l'ont précédée ni de celles qui aujourd'hui s'y opposent,—une doctrine dont les applications tiennent sous un joug fort tangible et sans merci de grandes et nombreuses nations, le danger d'être submergés par le nihilisme le plus actif et le plus sinistre que l'histoire ait connu, serait plus grand et plus imminent que jamais il ne le fut.

Bon nombre de personnes sont d'avis qu'en face d'une telle menace il suffit de se maintenir supérieur par la force des armes. Malheureusement, la force des armes n'est pas incompatible avec une vulnérabilité spirituelle qui peut faire de nous les premières victimes de notre puissante armée. Le vrai pouvoir d'une nation, ou d'une alliance de nations, n'est pas entièrement dans les richesses matérielles dont elle dispose, mais principalement dans le bien pour lequel elle veut les faire servir. La nation qui mettrait tout son effort dans la seule exploitation de ses ressources naturelles et la formation de ses techniciens, n'aurait pas dépassé pour autant la condition de servitude: tout ce capital peut encore servir à des fins contraires. Il suffirait de peu de chose pour le retourner contre celui qui y aurait mis toute sa confiance. Les armes sont neutres, mais ceux qui s'en servent ne le sont pas.

Que si nous étions d'accord sur le caractère profondément pervers de

la doctrine générale dont s'inspire l'action des communistes, s'ensuivrait-il que nous devrions appuyer celles de nos institutions où il s'enseigne des philosophies contraires au marxisme? Et alors, parmi ces dernières, laquelle faudrait-il préférer? Un choix aussi exclusif ne nous ferait-il pas adopter en substance une position semblable à celle du communisme, qui impose à tous ses sujets une seule philosophie, à savoir le matérialisme dialectique et historique? Faudrait-il enfin, organiser un plébiscite pour déterminer quelle est la philosophie qu'on devrait enseigner dans les écoles qui voudraient un jour pouvoir compter sur l'appui du public? Aucunement.

Il ne revient pas à la société politique de dicter quelle est la philosophie qui doit s'enseigner dans les écoles du pays. La philosophie est de soi antérieure à la vie politique. Et cette priorité s'accompagne d'un droit qui doit être protégé par le pouvoir public lui-même. C'est précisément ce droit que le marxiste ne peut tolérer, ni dans sa théorie, ni dans sa pratique. Non seulement il ne peut souffrir qu'on soumette sa philosophie à un examen critique, mais, pour la même raison, il ne pourrait jamais permettre que l'on présentât d'une manière objective les doctrines contraires. Qu'il s'agisse de Platon ou d'Aristote, de Descartes ou de Kant, son exposé sera strictement marxiste et dicté par la ligne du Parti.

Toutefois, en maintenant que la pensée philosophique est antérieure au pouvoir politique on ne doit pas entendre par là que toute action, dont on prétend qu'elle s'inspire d'une conviction philosophique, échappe à ce pouvoir. La prétention qu'aurait un citoyen d'avoir conçu une doctrine qui lui permet de voler son prochain ne devrait pas mettre ses pillages à l'abri de la loi. Que s'il veut justifier sa conduite par la conformité de celle-ci à sa philosophie, tant pis pour cette dernière.

Bref, c'est le droit d'exposition et de discussion qui doit être maintenu. Ce n'est qu'à cette condition que nous pouvons protéger d'une façon raisonnable et efficace les bases les plus essentielles et communes de la société politique. Si nos chefs, dans leurs conférences avec le Dictateur communiste, avaient connu le marxisme dans son fond doctrinal ou avaient eu des conseillers mieux renseignés — au lieu de se laisser bernier par l'idée que ce monsieur n'est après tout qu'un homme comme les autres, — leurs pourparlers auraient pris une tout autre tournure. Si nous nous sommes arrêtés au cas particulier du marxisme, ce n'est pas que nous voyons dans cette menace particulière la seule raison pour laquelle l'enseignement de la philosophie mérite la considération du public, mais parce que cet exemple est particulièrement choisi pour mettre en évidence une raison qui vaut d'une manière universelle.

Est-ce à dire que les gouvernants doivent être philosophes? Non pas. L'homme à tempérament philosophique est trop enclin à tomber, comme Thalès, dans le fossé. Mais l'homme politique, celui d'aujourd'hui surtout,

doit avoir une connaissance suffisante de la philosophie pour en voir l'à-propos. Le gouvernant n'est pas tenu d'être physicien, mais il doit savoir que les physiciens existent, que leurs connaissances jouent un rôle dans la communauté, et qu'il peut être utile et nécessaire de les consulter — pour éviter, par exemple, la menace que nous ménage une certaine philosophie.

#### LA PHILOSOPHIE QUI EST ENSEIGNÉE AU CANADA FRANÇAIS

Les universités et collèges du Canada français, étant catholiques, ont le devoir de former les étudiants de philosophie selon la méthode, la doctrine et les principes de saint Thomas d'Aquin.<sup>1</sup> Il est aisé de voir la difficulté que cela peut présenter du point de vue d'une communauté politique qui comprend des citoyens de croyances religieuses différentes de celles du catholique. Comment le public pourrait-il appuyer directement ou indirectement une institution qui donne la préférence à une seule philosophie parmi tant d'autres?

Cette objection provient d'un malentendu. La préférence pour la *philosophia perennis* ne veut pas dire que nous pouvons ou devons ignorer les autres doctrines. Tout au contraire, il nous incombe de les exposer d'une manière parfaitement objective. Dans l'ensemble, c'est peut-être dans les écoles catholiques que l'on met en présence les positions les plus contraires, celles de l'antiquité autant que celles du jour.

L'encyclique "Humani Generis" vient de nous le rappeler: "Les théologiens et les philosophes catholiques, qui ont la lourde charge de défendre la vérité humaine et divine et de la faire pénétrer dans les esprits humains, ne peuvent ni ignorer, ni négliger ces systèmes qui s'écartent plus ou moins de la voie droite. Bien plus, ils doivent les bien connaître, d'abord parce que les maux ne se soignent bien que s'ils sont préalablement bien connus, ensuite parce qu'il se cache parfois dans les affirmations fauses elles-mêmes un élément de vérité, enfin parce que ces mêmes affirmations invitent l'esprit à scruter et à considérer plus soigneusement certaines vérités philosophiques ou théologiques".

En d'autres termes, nous ne pouvons pas prendre, à l'endroit des philosophies opposées, une attitude purement négative. L'on doit, au contraire, suivant le conseil de saint Augustin, en profiter pour examiner avec plus de soin nos propres positions, afin de les saisir avec plus de netteté, et de les enseigner avec plus d'à-propos, en sorte que chaque question que l'adversaire soulève devienne une occasion de s'éclairer<sup>2</sup>.

Aussi longtemps que ce souci d'être parfaitement objectif à l'endroit de toutes les philosophies existe dans nos écoles, leur enseignement mérite, il nous semble, la considération du public le plus hétérogène. Tout

<sup>1</sup>*Codex Juris Canonici*, can. 1366, 2.—*Encycl.* "Aeterni Patris"; *Motu proprio* "Doctoris Angelici"; *Encycl.* "Studiorum Ducem", et "Humani Generis".

<sup>2</sup>*De Civitate Dei*, livre XVI, chap. 2.



manquement à cette objectivité est contraire, répétons-le, à l'idéal auquel sont tenus nos professeurs de philosophie. Certes, tous ceux qui sont chargés de cet enseignement ne sauraient s'approcher de cet idéal dans une égale mesure, mais il ne peut y avoir aucun doute sur ce qu'ils ont à faire, qu'il s'agisse d'exposer Aristote, Hume, Marx, ou Staline<sup>1</sup>.

#### L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE LA PHILOSOPHIE AU CANADA FRANÇAIS

Nous n'entendons pas refaire ici le travail du Conseil de recherches canadien, publié sous le titre "The Humanities in Canada"<sup>2</sup>. On trouvera les renseignements qui se rapportent à notre sujet aux chapitres 6 et 7 de cet ouvrage.

Les cadres généraux de l'enseignement philosophique dans les collèges classiques du Canada français sont parmi les meilleurs qu'il nous ait été donné de connaître. Néanmoins, lorsque nous comparons ce qui se fait actuellement à ce que l'on devrait pouvoir faire dans les mêmes cadres, nous n'avons aucune raison d'être satisfaits. Cet enseignement est loin de donner les résultats voulus. C'est un fait déplorable qu'un grand nombre d'élèves et parmi les meilleurs n'en gardent qu'un très mauvais souvenir.

Considérons d'abord un aspect plutôt matériel du problème. L'éducation, accessible à un nombre toujours plus grand de jeunes gens et jeunes filles, est certes une chose bonne en soi. Mais il ne faudrait pas que pour cette raison le niveau de l'enseignement soit abaissé. L'extension de l'enseignement moyen et supérieur ne se règle pas en élargissant les salles de cours. On ne devrait pas oublier que le nombre de professeurs devrait augmenter dans la même proportion. Une conférence publique devant quelques centaines d'auditeurs peut laisser le conférencier bien à l'aise. Mais une *leçon* proprement dite devant un auditoire qui dépasse la quinzaine est autrement difficile.

Voilà donc une des raisons pour lesquelles l'enseignement philosophique dans nos collèges ne peut pas donner les résultats voulus. Plus qu'en toute autre matière, l'étudiant doit pouvoir prendre une part active dans l'apprentissage de la philosophie. Bref, il faut que le professeur, dans son exposé, puisse tenir compte de chacun de ses auditeurs. Ceux-ci ne sont pas là simplement pour entendre ce qui en est, mais pour qu'on les aide à comprendre pourquoi il en est ainsi. Il faut qu'il y ait, entre professeur et élève, un dialogue constant. Or, cela est impossible en présence d'une foule où le professeur ne peut distinguer, en même temps, chaque individu. Dans une classe trop nombreuse, les étudiants devien-

<sup>1</sup>Nombre de gens ignorent que Joseph Staline est l'auteur d'un petit traité intitulé: *Le matérialisme dialectique et le matérialisme historique*.

<sup>2</sup>*The Humanities in Canada*, Watson Kirkconnell and A. S. P. Woodhouse, 166 Marlborough Ave., Ottawa, Canada, 1947.

nent passifs et se contentent d'apprendre, en vue du baccalauréat, des thèses qu'ils pourront répéter sans les comprendre. "Non attingunt mente, licet dicant ore".

Le nombre de professeurs dûment préparés à l'enseignement de la philosophie est extrêmement restreint. Le simple usage d'un manuel ne crée pas le professeur. Encore moins peut-il le remplacer. Même pour faire un bon usage d'un manuel, le professeur doit d'abord être lui-même formé aux sources. Et par sources, nous entendons les textes originaux des grands philosophes anciens et modernes, textes (les principaux, du moins) avec lesquels nos collégiens eux-mêmes devraient être en contact dans chacune des branches de la philosophie.

Parce que les classes de philosophie sont beaucoup trop nombreuses et parce que les professeurs ne sont pas toujours suffisamment préparés à cet enseignement, on finit par négliger le rôle de la *venatio*, de la recherche dialectique qui doit préparer l'intelligence aux notions et définitions les plus élémentaires. C'est pourquoi la philosophie, telle qu'enseignée, est beaucoup trop abstraite au sens péjoratif de ce terme. Elle semble n'avoir rien à faire avec la réalité; n'exister que dans les livres. Les réponses viennent avant les questions, des questions qu'on ne s'est jamais posées et qu'on n'aura jamais à se poser, semble-t-il. On discute de problèmes en termes empruntés à des langues étrangères et mortes, termes qu'on devrait d'abord s'appliquer à approfondir et à comprendre. Si la terminologie empruntée à des langues étrangères et mortes comporte des avantages indiscutables, il ne faudrait pas que le sens des mots soit lui-même périmé. Si les hommes n'apprennent pas, dès leur jeunesse, les éléments au moins les plus humbles d'une saine philosophie, s'ils en commencent l'étude à mi-chemin, il est extrêmement improbable qu'ils puissent retourner plus tard aux principes véritables et premiers. Faute d'une application suffisante aux éléments les plus simples, nous risquons d'inculquer aux étudiants cette connaissance livresque qui est tout le contraire de l'instruction. "Quant à l'instruction, disait Socrate dans le mythe de Theuth<sup>1</sup>, c'en est la semblance que tu procures à tes élèves, et non point la réalité; lorsqu'en effet avec ton aide ils regorgeront de connaissances sans avoir reçu d'enseignement, ils sembleront être bons à juger de mille choses, au lieu que la plupart du temps ils seront dénués de tout jugement; et ils seront en outre insupportables, parce qu'ils seront des semblants d'hommes instruits, au lieu d'être des hommes instruits!"

L'initiation à la philosophie présuppose une bonne formation littéraire, avec beaucoup de mémoire, et une connaissance très rigoureuse de la mathématique. Même au cours de l'enseignement des éléments de la philosophie, sous peine de la présenter *in vacuo*, on devrait constamment

<sup>1</sup>Phèdre, 275a.

se rapporter aux autres sciences et aux arts. Ce n'est qu'à cette condition que les étudiants pourront en tirer un réel profit pour les différentes professions où ils vont s'engager.

Précisément, en ce qui regarde les autres sciences, les arts et même l'histoire, on devrait toujours faire voir aux étudiants l'à-propos de ces connaissances pour la philosophie elle-même, non pas que celle-ci doive y pénétrer dans le but hautain de dicter, mais pour y puiser des lumières nouvelles, pour préciser davantage les connaissances philosophiques elles-mêmes, et pour assurer cette vue d'ensemble sans laquelle la philosophie ne peut mériter son titre de sagesse. Il n'y a que la philosophie digne de ce nom qui peut empêcher l'université de se perdre en une agglomération purement accidentelle d'écoles techniques.

La réalisation de ce programme n'a rien de révolutionnaire. Il reste que cette question des professeurs est particulièrement grave. Or, à la faculté de philosophie de l'Université Laval, par exemple, la plupart des étudiants sont des étrangers. Tout se passe comme s'il n'y avait point d'avenir pour nos philosophes canadiens dans nos maisons d'enseignement. La plupart de nos étudiants canadiens-français doivent entreprendre leurs études dans l'espoir de trouver une situation à l'étranger.

Les candidats ne manquent pas, et les talents non plus. Il faudrait des bourses plus considérables et en plus grand nombre, mais il faudrait aussi la réelle possibilité de trouver des emplois dans un domaine où il existe pourtant un si grand besoin.

Quand on songe aux dépenses incalculables que nous sommes bien obligés de faire pour la défense du pays (et notons bien que selon notre philosophie cette défense est une condition essentielle de la paix<sup>1</sup>), on peut se demander si nos précautions sont raisonnablement équilibrées. La formation d'un seul pilote aviateur coûte plus cher que les inscriptions de toute une faculté de philosophie. Or, l'ennemi, lui aussi, forme des aviateurs, mais n'oublie pas de préparer en même temps toute une armée de "commissars" dont l'arme principale est la philosophie. Et ces "commissars" sont beaucoup plus à craindre que les bombardiers qui leur prépareraient l'entrée chez nous. Ne serait-il pas exact d'affirmer que nous comptons beaucoup plus exclusivement sur les armes que ne le font les communistes? Voilà qui devrait nous faire réfléchir.

La philosophie s'avère plus importante aujourd'hui que jamais. Et pour tous. Son enseignement ne doit donc pas s'adresser aux seuls futurs professeurs, mais aussi à tous ceux qui jouent un rôle important dans notre société. Nous pensons—et nous l'avons déjà signalé—que l'une des plus grandes faiblesses de nos hommes d'Etat est cette ignorance philosophique qui les empêche de voir les dangers les plus manifestes et les rend causes

<sup>1</sup>S. Thomas in *Matthaeum*, cap. 12, v. 25.



indirectes de l'insécurité qui grandit. Nous avons d'ailleurs fait remarquer qu'ils n'en sont pas eux-mêmes les premiers responsables. Nous pensons aussi aux littérateurs, écrivains, critiques et aux journalistes en particulier auxquels S.S. Pie XII disait dernièrement: ". . . La presse a un rôle éminent à jouer dans l'éducation de l'opinion, non pour la dicter ou la régenter, mais pour la servir utilement. Cette tâche délicate suppose, chez les membres de la presse catholique, la compétence, une culture générale surtout philosophique et théologique, les dons du style, le tact psychologique".

Remarquons, pour terminer, que les insuffisances sur lesquelles nous avons attiré l'attention ne se rencontrent pas seulement au Canada français. A bien des égards nous jouissons même d'avantages inconnus ailleurs. Nous ne connaissons pas d'universités où il existe, de la part des autorités, un si grand souci d'un enseignement philosophique approfondi et un aussi sincère empressement de le développer au prix des plus grands sacrifices. D'autre part, l'engouement pour les éphémères et faciles nouveautés est ici plutôt rare. Mais, dans un domaine aussi difficile et aussi important que celui de la philosophie, l'écart entre ce qui est et ce qui devrait être ne permet pas le repos. La satisfaction serait la preuve certaine d'une irrémédiable décadence.

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## PSYCHOLOGY

WILLIAM LINE

### SECTION I—MAINLY FACTUAL

#### (a) *Psychological Training*

PSYCHOLOGY is taught at all Canadian universities, as part of the Arts programme. It is taught in some measure in our teacher-training institutions, and in professional schools of medicine and social work; in some instances, also in theological schools, schools of engineering, schools of nursing, departments of law, etc. The number of students receiving some degree of formal psychological training therefore represents a significant proportion of our total student population.

The qualifications of the instructors vary considerably, as do the facilities for serious work. In the larger universities, however, there exist either separate departments within the Arts Faculty, or departments shared with philosophy; and in these the quality of teaching is universally high.

In the larger universities provision is made for psychology as a major subject; and in some of them there has been established a significant honours-degree programme. In the latter instances, systematic, methodological and experimental considerations are basic.

Undergraduate programmes are primarily designed as a cultural discipline. While some realism is involved, in that our philosophic outlook is towards mental health, the undergraduate is not specialized, even as a psychometrist. Professional training is a matter for post-graduate—particularly post-M.A.—consideration.

Most of the larger universities offer post-graduate training in psychology up to the M.A. level. Significant doctoral training is confined to four universities at present.

M.A. work includes a research thesis; and all doctoral programmes demand an original research contribution.

Specialization in psychology, whether at the under-graduate or post-graduate level, usually requires substantial study in biological and social sciences, the colour and degree of which are naturally dependent upon available facilities. There is also considerable (though perhaps somewhat inadequate) attention to the humanities.

At least two-thirds of the graduate population in psychology leave



the university at the M.A. level. Of these, many seek and obtain employment in child guidance clinics, hospitals, industrial personnel departments, social agencies, government research. Some few take teacher-training subsequent to their psychological studies, and integrate into the public educational system; a few take graduate training in social work.

Ph.D. courses have hitherto been designed largely to fill the growing demand for university teaching and research, although many doctoral graduates secure appointments in public services generally. There is now developing significant professional training at the Ph.D. level in a few centres—training designed to give competence in the clinical field at a team-work level, and in industrial psychology, military psychology, community psychology. The tendency is, however, to give sound training on broad lines, with specialization as to “field” being secondary.

#### *(b) Professional Associations*

The Canadian Psychological Association, formed in 1939, is the nationally representative group of Fellows, Members, Associates and Student Members. It publishes its own Journal; meets annually, and is recognized as the source of consensus and the medium of domestic debate on Canadian psychological matters. There is close liaison with the American Psychological Association, but complete independence in organization.

Regional associations are obviously advantageous in so spread-out a country as ours. The Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia have active organizations with local branches. There are like developments (somewhat less advanced) in the Prairie Provinces. In all cases, there is close affiliation with the national association.

C.P.A. members frequently belong also to the British and American professional Societies, and to multi-professional bodies such as the American Ortho-psychiatric Association.

C.P.A. is a member of the World Federation for Mental Health.

#### *(c) Professional Status*

The professional psychologist as such is not very evident in our culture. “Clinical Psychology” is practised almost invariably under medical aegis; and it is not likely that the completely independent practitioner will emerge. The consensus is against his so doing. Psychologists engaged in professional pursuits are doing so under institutional conditions. They participate in medical, socio-educational undertakings. Their contribution is thereby integrated with the practical philosophy of the institution. Because of the conservatism and youth of our Canadian psychology, the psychologist is at present more directed by the institutional policy than contributing to it. Nonetheless, his influence on policy is growing—and will be more overtly evident as he finds his feet in the significant realm of social philosophy.

Legal provision exists in Quebec for recognition-by-license—but only as a means of identifying the “well-trained” from the “others”. Certification is a debatable question. The consensus is that certification must await clarification of role.

*(d) Public Demand*

The first demand for psychologically trained Canadians is, quite naturally, from the universities. As the university departments of psychology established their independence from philosophy, and as professional schools and pre-professional divisions of Arts (e.g. Household Science) demand psychological teaching, the required number of psychology professors will be increased. Consequently the prime consideration is the manning of our university departments, particularly as they grow up to post-graduate training status.

Second in importance are the government services, particularly Health services (federal and provincial), but including also research bodies (Defence Research, Military, Civil Service,) special treatment services (such as the Department of Veterans' Affairs), and the departments concerned with particular social problems (e.g. penal reform, immigration, cultural assimilation, etc.). The number of psychologically trained people at present employed in this broad area is quite small; but the demand is greater than the supply of well-trained people.

Educational institutions and systems would come next in importance. The number of mental health clinics in school areas is increasing. Beyond this provision, psychologically trained students may take professional educational training and integrate themselves into the vocational guidance services in schools.

Community clinics and co-ordinated social services contribute to the demand for psychological work and psychological administration. With the development of the Canadian Mental Health Association, the psychologically-trained field worker may become of special significance in our culture.

Industrial psychology of the traditional sort (selection, placement, work-simplification, time and motion study, systems-research, etc.) has some place in Canada, but was never a major factor in our social economy. With the maturing conception of personnel function, however, with the development of multi-disciplinary research institutes of human relations at several of our universities, and with wise conceptions of mental health as an important part of the industrial health charter, the industrial psychologist will no doubt find a very significant opportunity and challenge.

In our present stage of social advance, demands are hard to assess with any precision. In the field of mental health, the trend is away from mental hospital building and toward more preventive work in the com-

munity. Consequently, although we need greatly expanded clinical facilities, especially community clinics, the real challenge will probably come from the need for psychologists who are well trained in social science team-work, rather than from the more circumscribed areas of psychological testing and personality appraisal. In like vein, the hospital psychologist will increasingly be required to contribute to general-ward treatment, not merely to the differential diagnosis of mental illness and defect. So, too, the educational psychologist of the immediate future will concern himself with educational policy in the interests of strong person-social development, rather than concentrating exclusively on the child showing poor adjustment. Similarly, the exclusion of the misfit in industry will give way to the development of a satisfying policy in work-organization.

*(e) Relations to Government*

These are as yet largely informal. The Canadian Psychological Association and the Provincial Associations consult with Governments at Federal, Provincial and Municipal levels, and are consulted by them on professional matters. (The initiative is still centred in the Psychological Associations, rather than in Government bodies, except on special matters where government is embarrassed—e.g. should crime comics be banned?). In wartime the Government invited psychological aid because of its problems of personnel organization, public support for total war effort, maintenance of service-morale, psychological warfare as a strategic aid to victory, rehabilitation of war-trained personnel. Of all these, our national ethos reflected least at-homeness with psychological warfare.

Various members of the Canadian Psychological Association have advisory appointments in particular government departments (e.g. Health and Welfare, Veterans' Affairs, R.C.M.P., Defence and Defence Research, etc.).

The National Research Council is, by government charter, concerned mainly with natural science and biological-medical research. Following the wartime work of the Canadian Psychological Association in conducting studies supportive to civilian and military psychological projects, there was established an N.R.C. Committee on Applied Psychology for the purpose of continuing to support psychological researches in line with the interests of government departments. The committee is multi-disciplinary in composition (medical-social science), with psychologists having majority membership. Researches are supported by grants-in-aid to universities.

The Defence Research Board has its own Operational Research Division, with psychologists and other social scientists on its permanent staff, and on its advisory panels. This body, in addition to conducting researches itself, sponsors research in universities by grants-in-aid; and



provides psychological internships for the training of personnel in realistic social research.

Several government departments (e.g. The Department of Veterans' Affairs, Provincial Departments of Health) have field staffs which constitute federal or provincial psychological services as an integral part of the treatment organization. The Department of Labour employs psychologists in connection with vocational-guidance policy. Provincial education departments vary in the degree to which they provide for psychological service, but the trend is towards psychological guidance and counselling, particularly in adolescent and higher education; and there is an increasing impact of child study, nursery schools, young-parent education on the official educational bodies.

The Civil Service Commission is making strides in selection and training policies, all of which involve psychological considerations. Peace-time military staffs include permanent nuclei of research and service personnel dealing with psychological matters. Special research problems in the area of human relations are referred to the Defence Research Board.

Professional psychology is at the present time securing much-needed help and encouragement from the Federal Government (Department of Health and Welfare) through the Provincial Health authorities. The emphasis is on the training of personnel, and on research into personal and social problems.

Psychology departments in universities are related to government only in terms of complete freedom within the normal, broad limits of our culture. There is, quite naturally, a sensitive appreciation of what the culture's problems happen to be. But there is no doctrinaire formulation of statecraft that demands of psychology a peculiar structure, beyond which it may not go. This is important. Psychology *could* be used as a technological aid to a vested decision or mass purpose. In Canada, psychology is free to examine what it will, without reference to any particular dogma regarding how man might best be organized.

This applies not only to the private universities, but also to those designated as "provincial" in that they receive most of their financial support from the Province.

## SECTION II—IS THERE A CANADIAN PSYCHOLOGY?

Psychology, as an aspect of Canadian culture, symbolizes the culture itself, in that, while originating in European tradition, it reflects its own self-development. Its uniqueness will be stressed and delineated in what follows.

It is important to recall the fact that psychology became established in our universities within departments of philosophy. While we have not as a

people developed outstanding philosophers, or crystallized any characteristic formal system of philosophy, we have had the advantage of several great philosophy teachers and scholars. Psychology owes a particular debt to John Watson of Queen's and G. S. Brett of Toronto.

Watson's eminence as an interpreter of Kant contributed to our faith in man's dignity. The active mind, creatively significant in the realms of both pure and practical reason, is a conception that has made us resistant to any suggestion that character and behaviour are to be interpreted in terms of accidental experience. In the United States, "adjustment psychology" has been, and still is, very dominant. There never was any such tendency here; and John Watson's foundation to our thought is undoubtedly reflected in this fact.

Watson's influence may perhaps best be symbolized by the very important role played by one of his most eminent students, J. M. MacEachran. From Queen's, MacEachran went to Leipsic, studied under Wundt, and for his doctoral dissertation wrote a critique of Pragmatism. He became one of the original staff members of the University of Alberta; and in developing the philosophy department there, invited John MacDonald and E. D. MacPhee to join him. MacDonald who had been trained in social ethics under Seth, and MacPhee, who had specialized in motivational psychology under Drever, enriched the conception of man contributing creatively and constructively to his society, rather than simply adjusting to it.

G. S. Brett gave us a very deep sense of history in psychology. It is probably true that in no other country is psychology taught with as profound a respect for its own history as in Canada. This, too, is of the utmost significance. Psychology as part of the evolution of man's thinking is not as likely to accept behaviourism as more than a pragmatic oversimplification of very limited value. Neither is it likely to be swept off its feet by a cultural accident and therapeutic convenience such as Freud's psycho-sexual theory. Still more important, it is not likely to pattern itself along lines dictated by vested interests in existing social institutions.

For these reasons, Canadian psychology does not reflect the tendency towards extreme schools, on the one hand, nor the special but limited formulations which originate in particular applied settings, on the other. Upon what, then, does its uniqueness rest?

To answer the question immediately is to run the risk of doing it an injustice. However, to direct our discussion of how psychology has developed and what it is today, it may be convenient to list the following characteristics:

- (a) A profound respect for the Self or Person.
- (b) Focal attention to the concept "development", particularly so-called "normal" development.

- (c) Personal development as a process, rather than a state, objective or condition.
- (d) Personal development as an experienced process, (implying self-consciousness, and taking place by virtue of inter-personal relationship).
- (e) The nature and enrichment of inter-personal relationships is the main object of scientific search.
- (f) The ethos stems from a mental-health value system, which is in turn enriched by the scientific search itself.

These characteristics will become clearer as we trace their origin. We have already drawn attention to some aspects of our basic debt to philosophy. Other aspects are immediately apparent as we consider the emergence of psychology departments.

In accordance with the trend in western culture generally, psychology in Canada was beginning to show signs of independence from philosophy at the turn of the century. Two influences were at work here—one, the rising tide of experimentalism, and two, the practical dilemmas of public schooling, particularly in regard to gross intellectual differences among children. Experimentalism reflected the urge towards science and scientific method in the study of man and patterned itself at the outset on the Wundtian tradition. The assessment of intelligence provided an easy entree into the realm of the practical, particularly at the level of detecting marked retardation and mental defect. In neither case did the restraining hand or stimulating wisdom of the philosopher seem very necessary or pertinent. Psychological emergence the world over has indeed been characterized by naïveté; and philosophy in modern western culture has perhaps not challenged that naïveté significantly enough—in psychology any more than in technology. Only now are we realizing the need for philosophic assessment of scientific (particularly social-scientific) findings.

But in this country psychology appears to have handled its scientific responsibility so far with ethical dignity. Instead of following the example of those who withdrew from philosophy, and hence from the world, into the cloistered laboratory; or of those who used the laboratory only for developing tools whereby man could be manipulated in temporarily-stabilized or statically-regarded social institutions; or of those who studied man exclusively as reflected from the asylum or the psycho-analytic couch, the pioneers of Canadian psychological thought, without exception, studied man in the community, with great faith in his potentialities. In consequence, despite the absence of any crystallized, explicit uniquely Canadian educational or social philosophy, those pioneers have given us a social conscience the value of which cannot be over-estimated. Indeed the thesis could be advanced that Canadian psychology is even now a dominant force in Canadian culture.



If this claim is justified, the challenge is enormous. If psychology can address itself significantly to the study of man as he is in his community, the Canadian scene is unusually rich for this purpose; and because of its nature, will have remarkable impact on psychology itself. The reverse is equally true.

We have said that in assuming self-conscious status, psychology in Canada studied man in his community. Reference has already been made to the Alberta setting, where a positive social psychology was developing in the early twenties. In eastern Canada, particularly in Toronto, two national figures were emerging at the same time.

The one, E. A. Bott, disciplined in philosophy and Wundtian experimentalism, became the first head of the new department of psychology. Prior to this, and during the first World War, he had made a very significant experimental contribution to the rehabilitation of physically handicapped soldiers. His ingenious design of apparatus to meet the needs of a great variety of muscular defects following battle-injury was patterned according to the principle of motivating the soldier by self-evaluation. Herein lurked many concepts of the personal-value type; personal effort, personal independence, personal satisfaction, personal achievement, personal worth through all of these, etc. The experimental subjects were no mere guinea pigs, neither were they ciphers contributing to the concept of the "average man". Each was an individual faced with a problem of living, and a problem unique to him because of his post-war circumstance.

When Bott set up his department, he seems to have generalized the self-evaluation principle of motivation and to have made it the ground of all psychological enquiry. He decided to pattern his staff according to the plan of observing human development throughout the life span. Infancy and the pre-school years, the school age child, the adolescent in school and in the community, the adult at home and in the factory, etc.—each period of life was to be studied, not in abstraction, but in whatever social settings could be conveniently made available.

In this he was encouraged by C. M. Hincks, who had recently launched the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Stimulated by Clifford Beers in America, Hincks had organized a voluntary association for the purpose of public education in mental hygiene, so that the care and treatment of mental illness could be improved, and preventive measures undertaken.

Financial support from American Foundations and Canadian philanthropists was thereby obtained for setting up child-study and parent education laboratories, and for research enquiries according to the longitudinal plan outlined above. From its very beginnings, therefore, the Canadian mental hygiene movement was coupled with the significant study of "normal" development. Even though developmental abnormalities

and adjustment-problems would naturally be under scrutiny in such a setting, they were evaluated particularly with reference to the clarification of the developmental process itself.

Quite naturally, as theoretical constructs emerge from such an over-all base of enquiry, differences of opinion and disagreements arise from time to time. This is particularly true in an area of discourse as personal as personal-development is bound to be. But even these disagreements have been stimulating and challenging. Many Canadians may not always agree, for example, with the theoretical formulations of W. E. Blatz in the field of child study; but no one can gainsay his stimulus-value to Canadian thought.

The cross-country influence of the mental hygiene movement has also been a phenomenon of note. The psychological approach to matters of living has become nation-wide in some sense at least; and personal-development has at all times been viewed in the perspective of inter-personal interplay. In consequence, the abstractions of a Wundtian laboratory—sensation, perception, etc.—have had short shrift unless they could relate themselves to living process.

One further influence is noteworthy. The study of personal development in the context of health on the one hand, and inter-personal interplay on the other, has contributed much towards scientific partnership among medical-biological and social science disciplines. While much remains to be achieved in this important area, the principle is involved from the first; and the Canadian scene is second to none in point of fact.

Other influences could be selected for comment. Mention could be made, for example, of the scholarly attention of Humphrey (at Queen's) to the thought processes which reinforced our concern with man's active (rather than reactive) nature. Our psychologists have been of various persuasions by training and interests; but in no sense have we felt the need for creating the doctrinaire school or esoteric speciality.

All this was made evident by the challenge of World War II. Military and industrial organization, service morale, public information, evacuees, rehabilitation—all confronted the country with problems of inter-personal living, personal responsibility and development through responsibility. The significance of the contribution of Canadian psychology lies not in the fact that the problems existed, but that they were recognized, and that people trained in our Canadian departments of psychology were invited to partnership with so wide a group of organizations. It is no accident that Blatz was invited to Britain in connection with the care of evacuee children; or that Canada provided significant social welfare leadership over there; that the R.A.F. engaged the consultant services of Bott; that personnel work in the military services did not pattern itself on arid psychological testing, but rather helped to cultivate a constructive partner-

ship among social, psychological, medical sciences and education, the outcome of which was, in effect, a mental health concern in all areas of military process.

One final item of evidence as to the individuality of Canadian psychology may be cited from the educational field. With the proximity of large and influential schools of educational psychology (such as Columbia) one might have expected a distinct colouring of our approach from the American source. Here and there that may be visible. But over-all there is unquestionably a genetic mental-health philosophy in the interplay between education and psychology in this country, well symbolized by the work of Laycock in Saskatchewan.

### SECTION III—THE CANADIAN COMMUNITY

The reason for introducing a brief comment on the Canadian community in an essay on psychology has already been indicated. To the Canadian psychologist, with his emphasis on personal development through inter-person relationships, the living social milieu is of special importance; not the milieu as the economist or sociologist or other social scientist regard it, but essentially as the individual person experiences it.

This means, in a sense, that there are as many Canadian communities as there are Canadians—a conception that has relatively little value in science. But in inter-personal communication, the real challenge is that of coming up against differences in outlook and being stimulated by them—not as idiosyncrasies of the other person, but as a series of varieties, each of which has the sanction of the “generalized other”—the sanction of a group of people, sufficiently patterned in their belief and ways of behaving to represent a value-system. Where there is a variety of “generalized others”, all somehow living and working together, the situation is ripe for rich personal development, if handled in that particular context.

The Canadian scene would appear to be outstanding in challenge and possibility from this point of view. If not unique, it abounds in the types of variety and contrast implied above. This fact needs no amplification, since it is a common theme in our national literature.

Contenting ourselves with illustration only, we may well point to the intriguing differences between living in Quebec City, and living in Toronto; the outposts of Newfoundland, the isolation of the small communities of our northwest, the concentrations of population in our large cities; the influence of two such divergent streams of dominant culture as Old France and Modern Britain, complicated by the neighbourly confusion of the U.S.A.; Calvinism and instalment buying; thrift and profligate waste; virile pioneering and Mother’s Day; material success and Victorian domesticity; democratic politics and industrial autocracy; cultural education



and vocational-professional training; religions hallmarked in Rome, Westminster and Athens; two dominant languages, and a host of others contributing to and representative of the folkways of a closely knit people in a spacious land; parochialism and nationalism, plus intolerance of either in any part of the world save Canada; an immigrant people with suspicion of immigration; nineteenth-century literature and economic materialism; rugged individualism and institutional centralization; pride in tradition and worship of the gadget.

Granted all these have some counter-part in many other cultures, surely we in Canada have enough of them to intrigue our social consciousness. The point here is that we should be well able to capitalize on them, and to ensure that they continue to contribute (as they undoubtedly have in the past) to the vigour of our growth; and especially that we do so with increasing effectiveness. But how?

The question is not lightly answered. One item, however, appears to be particularly relevant to our present argument. Whenever there are marked inconsistencies of social policy, inconsistencies which have direct bearing upon personal and corporate living, the process of individual development is handicapped. At the same time, differences in belief and value systems among the people themselves contribute to the depth and richness of personal development.

To take an obvious example of the former, in the Canadian Army during the period immediately following September 1939, policy maintained that "ignorance of orders was no excuse". Part I and Part II orders were written and posted. Yet recruiting policy permitted illiterates to enlist, without any provision for training in reading. Or, from the civilian field, we pay lip service to French-English understanding and participant living, yet actively prohibit the teaching of French in many of our public schools. We imply the deep value of study, while at the same time we give extra study as a school punishment. Leisure-time is lauded, while commercialism dominates our leisure hours. We demand freedom of education, yet turn our educational policy over to imported experts. And so on. The Canadian social scene would appear to have more than its usual share of confusions.

Turning to the more positive characteristic of our Canadian mosaic, its wonderful diversity in personal-social constitution, we need merely cite such stimulating advantages as mixed religious and racial backgrounds in a country for which the future is more significant than the past. Our very absence of tradition both demands and makes possible a wider incorporation of the humanities than any one cult or system or ethos has elsewhere yet achieved. Sectarian in origin, we are not content with mutual tolerance; nor do we countenance that degenerative, levelling process of

accepting the lowest common denominator. We demand development—which can come only by a non-divisive mutual appreciation.

From all this, our claim is that a rich social philosophy will ultimately emerge—is indeed visibly emerging in Canada; and that contributory to that emergence is the aptness of the psychology that is Canadian.

#### SECTION IV—CANADIAN PSYCHOLOGY IN RELATION TO CANADIAN PROBLEMS

To justify the contention that Canadian psychology is significantly contributory to the emergence and development of a unique social philosophy, a few of the outstanding trends will be discussed.

##### (a) *Child Study*

It is no accident that Canada was a very real pioneer in the field of scientific child study, nor that it enjoys an international reputation in this regard.

As we have indicated, the significance of self, of person is our basic tenet. This implies the concept of development through learning. For effective learning, consistency of home-policy is important even or especially in the early years of life. The Blatzian emphasis is therefore quite clear. By consistency is not meant the uniformity of routine or rule of thumb; but rather the intelligent attention of parents to the significance of learning in the life of the infant and child.

So too, the richness in possibility that derives from the simple fact that a parent is always older than his offspring—or, putting it another way, the child is always born younger than his society. Freudians have made much of the dangers of parental dominance, particularly in the realms of superimposed morality and sex conflict. Their whole conception of the parent-child relationship has been surrounded with negativism. Not so the Canadian approach. The values that accrue from learning in a society of older members have been consciously taken as a field of enquiry, matched with equal emphasis on the values of early association with one's age-peers. And since all learning is a social partnership, development proceeds in the lives of all participants. Children do not learn *from* parents and older brothers, so much as *with* them; and vice versa.

This brief symbolization of our Canadian psychological approach to childhood—obviously inadequate in so many ways—draws attention to the cultural situation we face; for with diversity in parent conceptions of what is *good* in living, any attempt to reduce child-training to specific formulae would result in chaos indeed. Primitive or single-tradition-dominated societies may appear to find convenience and satisfaction in the rule of thumb method. Happily we cannot do so. Any principles, therefore, that emerge from our studies of early development are more likely to have universal import, rather than merely local, cultural reference.

*(b) Education*

For purposes of brevity and simplification, the Canadian approach to educational psychology may be set in contrast with trends that are visible elsewhere.

In a country which regards its educational system as contributing to the problem of "adjustment" to society, it quite naturally happens that great attention is paid to uniformity in method. Educational psychology in the United States, for example, is noted for its emphasis on "conditioning". Learning becomes a matter of disciplined pedagogy. Regularity and uniformity in stimulus will result in greater uniformity of response. A polyglot immigrant population may thus learn (be taught) quickly and precisely to behave in uniform ways.

Not that this one emphasis characterizes the whole of American educational philosophy. But it is one of the emphases which educational psychology made there in its address to the problems of teaching and teacher-training. And its influence is visible in U.S. vocational guidance, clinical psychology, and many other extensions of like kind.

As a protest against this, greater attention was demanded and given to the learning process itself. "Things" to be learned were regarded as complex organizations of interrelated parts; as enterprises which resulted in "learning by doing", etc. John Dewey and the movement that came to be known as progressive education represented and developed this approach.

In Canadian educational psychology, the systematization of pedagogy, and the attention to "enterprises" both have a place; but neither dominates the classroom scene. Technique is one thing, educational philosophy is another. Those uniformities which are conveniently established as habitual conformities, may often appear to be the focus of our attention in schooling. Or the efficiency of learning by the project method may seem to have caught the imagination of some of our teachers. But these, and other like elements, in no sense represent our conception of the educative process itself.

This latter is not only a horse of a totally different colour, but it is central to our approach to all aspects and phases of education.

What is the nature of that conception? Here, as a people, we are somewhat confused. The dominant British tradition stresses the cultural value of history and the classics. French emphasis is on philosophic rationalism. A scientific age, plus our material resources and economic nationalism, stimulates natural science and medical research. The rigours of pioneering make vocational fitness important.

Yet through all the confusion, the original belief in individual worth through personal achievement—the belief on which Canada was founded—somehow makes itself felt.

This belief, coupled with our rapid geographical expansion and wide-



spread pioneering and settling, led to our major over-all inconsistency in educational policy—the highly centralized system, and the tendency to regard educational administration as the responsibility of government, on the one hand, the personal involvement in education for ourselves and our children on the other. We were too busy felling trees to clarify what it was that we wanted. We allowed our education to be master-minded by experts, who brought with them the ready-made article from elsewhere.

In other words, we are faced with a good deal of inconsistency in policy in which democratic aspirations are confused with authoritarianism.

It is in this connection that psychology in Canada probably represents one of our most hopeful contributors. Unquestionably Canadian education during the past two or three decades has shown the influence of a psychological-developmental approach to all phases of educational outlook. Attention is being paid to reducing the inconsistencies inherent in the conflict between centralized administration and individual self-determination. Public consciousness has been aroused as to the meaning of discipline; or in regard to the incompatibility of uniform standards of scholarship in the light of individual differences in ability, and so on. More important still, the realization of the significance of interpersonal relations in personality development bids fair to remake our conception of the educative process. The personality of the teacher, the social atmosphere of the classroom, the significance of skill as a means whereby a more mature personal freedom may be experienced in social participation, the functional relationships between school and community, the assets that pupil-differences in ability and background represent in our school-society,—these and like appreciations are beginning to supersede mere curricular abstractions divorced from the process of living.

Such trends in educational policy cannot be experienced without difficulties arising. In many countries the inherent conflict between child-centred and state-dominated education is being ignored or arbitrarily resolved by increasing authoritarianism. Not so in Canada. The conflict has not yet been resolved; but we are at least conscious of it.

That consciousness is reflected in our greater attention to the transition between living at home and living also in the school community: the growth of pre-school education; attention to social development at all ages; permissive discussions in school classrooms whereby children may learn to face the problems of living which confront them at all stages of development; teacher-understandings of “guidance” as a growth in responsibility, rather than as a super-imposed attempt to classify human beings or to make judgments for others, etc. Much remains to be done; but the general directions are becoming more clear.

All this is particularly significant in a country where national and industrial organization are increasingly forced upon us. The eventual form

of our significant nationhood is as yet undetermined; and our national emergence comes at a time when inter-national patterns are complex and conflicting. Our work-a-day world is being increasingly influenced by technology; and work is no longer a family matter where the child learns gradually to integrate himself into the family craft or partnership. More and more the responsible attitudes of young people must be developed in our schools. An emerging personal-social concept of development would appear to be the most hopeful care for our educational philosophy.

It is for this reason that the impact of Canadian psychology would seem to have the importance and promise herein claimed for it.

In the past, philosophy as the synthesis of cultural aspirations has played a dominant role in all affairs of the spirit. In Canada today, university departments of philosophy appear to have withdrawn from science; and the loss is serious. University departments of education may have to provide the modern corrective. A Canadian "Plato's Academy", centred in a leading faculty of Education, could do much to assist the social sciences in co-ordinating their researches into Canadian life and purpose. Only by some such policy can we hope for the development of a social ethos consistent with our faith in the work of individual man and the importance to society of responsible personal development.

#### *(c) Military Psychology*

The contribution made by Canadian psychology to military organization and efficiency during the recent war probably best symbolizes the uniqueness of the point of view herein presented, and its practical nature. The urgency and flexibility of service life provided an unusual opportunity for applied effort; and Canada gave leadership to the Allies in this regard.

The services, because of their history, show many inconsistencies in organizational policy. This is especially true at a time when the old feudalistic pattern of the county regiment had finally to give way to a total mobilization of national man-power, and when technical warfare demanded flexibility of re-mustering as battle-order changed, or of regrouping in the light of sudden reverses, marked successes or unexpected casualties.

A typical inconsistency was mentioned earlier, in that illiterates were recruited to an army demanding literacy of its members. Countless other examples could be cited, such as: promotion from the ranks and on the basis of demonstrated efficiency, while nepotism also remained; recruiting on the basis of trade-skill, while at the same time professing that the prime requisite was "being a soldier"; assessment of men as square or round pegs, while demanding a maximum of versatility, and so on.

The approach through inconsistencies of policy therefore gave great scope of realistic contribution.

The still more constructive aspect of the Canadian psychological

approach—namely that of recognizing the values inherent in personal-social differences—had equal scope. The recruit from Halifax found himself becoming a soldier side by side with a stranger from Vancouver. The Canadian lived with Britishers, Italians, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and eventually with Germans. Training and educational policies of necessity capitalized on these circumstances; and psychological considerations contributed to the process.

The entire period from enlistment, through basic and operational training, through battle and its consequences, through occupational duties and rehabilitation, was conceived in developmental terms.

That is why Personnel Selection did not divorce itself from training or operations, or simply accepted the false notion that psychological and assessment tests would carry the load of a responsible interest in personal effectiveness and morale.

That is why there developed in the Canadian forces a close partnership between psychology, social science, medicine, psychiatry, education and military training. This particular achievement is unique in military history, and is well-known to Canadians and others. It is to be hoped that the significance of that achievement is not lost through inadequate documentation and our tendencies, in peace time, to slip back to the vested interests of our own particular discipline or administrative role.

The concept of the human sciences acting in an advisory capacity to those carrying executive responsibility in institutional organizations was likewise an important aspect of the demonstration. This is probably of particular significance in industry; but it appears to have importance generally.

So, too, the frank refusal to classify or advise individuals on matters where their personal judgment and responsibility for such judgments played an important part in their own growth and development represents a crucial point in face-to-face personal counselling or guidance.

#### *(d) Industry*

Psychology has not as yet demonstrated its potential in this field, either in Canada or elsewhere. There has been, of course, some copying of the piece-meal personnel practices of other countries: the use of psychological tests for the selection of employees: job analysis and job evaluation; merit rating; "human engineering" generally. But this is not significant as a Canadian contribution, and is on the whole inconsistent with our outlook if set off by itself.

There is a good deal of promise in two current trends: one, the establishing of Institutes of Industrial Relations in our leading universities; the other, the development in research practice of a significant point of view in regard to the human factor in industry.



The first trend embodies a multi-disciplinary partnership among the social sciences, so that human problems are not likely to be tackled from any partial or narrow standpoint. It also rigidly adheres to the "neutral zone" principle, of being non-partisan and rigidly objective. At least in this regard the ethos is professional-scientific.

There is some danger that this trend may content itself with providing an understanding of local problems in human relations, with alleviating them by techniques which do not get at major causes or reveal universal principles.

For these reasons, the greater promises lies with the second trend—the search for and development of a point of view that will be of more universal import. To this trend we now turn.

Canadian industrial development is following the lines made clear by technological advances in the United States. There is the concentration of workers in large factories, where once the factory was a small community emergent. Urbanization is accentuated. Organization of production tends towards an authoritarian pattern, while democratic aspirations prevail outside, with resultant confusion in the minds of workers. Cities are developed without very much reference to the meaning of home. Women are employed without adequate recognition of our belief in the importance of family life. Advertising often has little positive awareness of aesthetic values. The fragmentation by technology of the process of making goods transforms the craft into the skill; and the craftsman disappears as workers become known in terms of particular dexterities or sensory aptitudes. The worker becomes isolated from work by its very monotony, rather than involved in it because of its challenge. He becomes isolated from the community by the urban setting of the factory, its distance from home, its abstractions of absentee management and unknown consumer. His work isolates him from his family. Work is something not easily described with dignity, that father does away from home, and that makes him tired; and that is how many children are introduced to the concept 'work', rather than experiencing it as a partnership with the family community.

A little application of psychological tests or work simplification will not meet the challenge of these problems.

The approach herein advocated would appear (on theoretical and on known-applied grounds) to be needed and effective. A professional attitude that demands a neutral-zone base, as with medicine; this alone can maintain independence from one-sided, management centred or labour centred bias. Examination of policies which inhibit man's need and capacity to learn, to belong to his social fellows through work, rather than through loneliness in the face of monotony; policies which militate against his self-esteem and sense of personal progression; which cloak the social

purpose in work; and presenting frank recommendations to the line executive which will make them conscious of these all-important human considerations—these are the much needed foci of attention.

The over-all objective of work as satisfying, can be achieved only if the work setting contributes to personal development. The educational purpose of industry must be constantly scrutinized and strengthened. Obviously our conception of development through inter-personal relationships should have direct relevance in industry, where man comes together with man in large numbers, for the purpose of producing social goods. We have not yet learned how to deal with large numbers. Our social pathology of industrial conflict is witness to this fact; and to the need for more collective bargaining.

This field of research and active enquiry into human relations is of universal importance. The world has become small and intimate because of the inevitable forward-march of industry. President Truman's *Point Four* programme will accentuate the degree to which western civilization exports the technological method and superimposes the industrial way of life upon "undeveloped" countries. It would appear to be of the utmost importance to world-unity, therefore, that we should examine what it is we are exporting as a method of inter-personal association.

Canada faces the human relations problems in its own industry. Its approach to those problems might well be such as to give much-needed world leadership. Its national ethos and its psychological outlook hold great promise in this regard, if appropriately recognized and made operative in our domestic industrial affairs.

That recognition could take many forms. One example may perhaps suffice. A partnership between university research and industrial installations—approximating that which obtains between medical schools and hospitals—would be useful, if not essential. As a starting point, some of our great public utilities might well be the pioneers in such a partnership.

#### *(e) Mental Health*

Canada's Mental Health movement is second to none in its maturity of development and scientific foundations. At the present time there is projected a Canadian Mental Health Association (replacing the National Committee for Mental Hygiene), which will embrace provincial associations and their regional and local branches. Membership will be open to all citizens who are prepared to work at the problem of increasing our insights into healthful social living. Leadership will be multi-professional.

In this way it is hoped that grass-roots participation will enhance our awareness of local, national and inter-national problems in personal living, and provide a thoughtful stimulus to continued research. Community projects (such as that in Forest Hill Village, Toronto) will have more than

local reference, in that they will follow the action-research policy. The study of childhood will be basic.

As was indicated earlier, the uniqueness of the Canadian psychological emphasis is intimately bound up with the development of our mental health policy.

Many other areas of psychological problems might be considered. We have problems of cultural assimilation, delinquency, penal reform, immigration, etc., etc. Some exploratory and local psychological work has been done in most cases; but not enough to warrant comment here. There is also an increasing attention to special psychological problems in Defence Research—as for example, the whole question of how people behave under stress. Our attention here has been confined to a few illustrations of past achievement and future promise; and by this means to establish the thesis of the emergence of a very practical and professionally ethical Canadian psychology.

One final word. Priority is easily given to problems of the “corrective” type—problem children, delinquency, etc. What has been presented here would imply that “problems” in this sense provide material for clarifying some of the principles of human development. The more important priority rests with problems of social advance. It is in this direction that Canadian psychology can most appropriately serve.

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## LA PSYCHOLOGIE

R. P. NOËL MAILLOUX, O.P.

COMME toutes les sciences relativement jeunes et encore en voie d'organisation, la psychologie connaît des progrès extrêmement rapides. De décade en décade, sa synthèse et son champ d'applications s'élargissent au point de dérouter à peu près complètement le profane, dont la confiance est facilement ébranlée par des transformations aussi amples et aussi imprévues. Même chez ceux qui ont poussé assez loin leurs études, l'habitude n'est que trop ancrée de voir dans la science un savoir définitivement acquis et destiné à ne subir que des retouches de détails. Aussi, la plupart se montrent-ils peu enclins à favoriser l'essor d'une science à peine sortie de l'enfance et à lui accorder une autonomie qui leur paraît ouvrir la porte à trop de hardiesses. Les plus tolérants suggèrent de l'accueillir à condition qu'elle consente à se laisser annexer à des programmes déjà établis, qui la condamnent d'avance à l'effacement et à la stagnation.

Pourtant, qu'y a-t-il d'étonnant à ce que la psychologie se heurte à la fois à des difficultés internes et externes? Les premières proviennent d'un certain défaut d'intégration qui continuera assez longtemps de se faire sentir dans la sphère de son objet, de ses méthodes et de ses applications. Quant aux secondes, elles sont occasionnées par une délimitation encore forcément imprécise de ses frontières, aussi bien sur le plan théorique que sur le plan pratique.

Les considérations que nous présenterons ici ne sauraient donc avoir qu'une portée restreinte et provisoire. Mais, comme nous sommes en grande partie responsable de l'orientation donnée à l'enseignement, à la recherche et à la pratique psychologiques dans la province de Québec, nous croyons être en mesure de préciser assez nettement les positions prises. D'autre part, ne voulant aucunement que ce rapport ne reflète que nos idées personnelles, nous avons pris le temps nécessaire pour réfléchir sur les opinions émises par les nombreux collègues avec qui nous avons de fréquents contacts. Aussi, nous adopterons un point de vue qui transcende d'emblée les orientations par trop individuelles et nous n'envisagerons que les aspects du problème sur lesquels les psychologues de langue française n'ont aucune peine à se mettre d'accord.

Une autre remarque trouve encore ici sa place. Le plupart d'entre

nous ont nettement conscience de constituer une équipe de pionniers, s'efforçant sans cesse d'envisager de nouvelles hypothèses de travail avec la plus courageuse honnêteté intellectuelle, mais aussi habitués depuis bientôt dix ans aux réalisations immédiates. Les problèmes dont nous faisons mention sont ceux-là mêmes que l'actualité impose à notre attention de façon particulièrement pressante; les projets que nous exposons doivent être comptés exclusivement parmi ceux qui encourent présentement tous les risques de l'exécution; les besoins que nous faisons connaître ne reflètent aucunement des aspirations à une expansion trop longtemps contenue mais les exigences inéluctables d'une phase de croissance.

Ces quelques considérations préliminaires contribueront, sans doute, à mieux définir la portée des aperçus qui vont suivre sur la situation et l'évolution des sciences psychologiques au Canada français.

C'est en 1942 que s'organisait, sur une base solide et prometteuse, l'enseignement des sciences psychologiques au Canada français. Jusque là, nos collègues classiques avaient toujours proposé à leurs élèves les données fondamentales de la psychologie thomiste, comme ils continuent d'ailleurs de le faire. De leur côté, nos facultés de philosophie s'efforçaient de donner plus d'ampleur, à la fois en étendue et en profondeur, à des connaissances qui avaient le mérite de fournir les cadres d'une conception anthropologique conservant toujours, à nos yeux, sa valeur intégrale. Aussi, est-ce dans la ligne de prolongement de celle-ci que l'on vit s'élaborer très rapidement le programme remarquablement compréhensif de notre enseignement de la psychologie expérimentale et de la psychologie appliquée. Certains, nous le savons, éprouvent quelque malaise à voir se perpétuer ce voisinage de la philosophie avec une science expérimentale. D'où, la tendance à ériger en système indépendant une méthode quelconque de recherche et les résultats plus ou moins intéressants auxquels elle permet d'atteindre, comme ce fut le cas pour le béhaviorisme et pour la psychanalyse, pour ne citer que ces deux exemples bien connus de tous. C'est là une attitude commune à presque tous les scientifiques qui explorent un domaine nouveau, un vestige de l'hermétisme d'Ecole dont ils aiment d'abord à s'entourer ou de l'incertitude d'une conscience professionnelle qui commence de s'affirmer.

Quant à nous, nous ne voyons nullement pourquoi la psychologie devrait renoncer à l'apport si profond qui lui vient de la réflexion philosophique des siècles passés. De cette tradition culturelle, nous avons hérité une conception de la nature humaine qui, toute en partant de l'expérience, pousse l'analyse de sa structure et de son dynamisme jusqu'à un niveau où la méthode expérimentale ne peut atteindre. Ce n'est pas à dire que les méthodes d'observation et d'expérimentation, qui témoignent d'une ingéniosité vraiment remarquable et dont la précision va sans cesse croissant, n'aient pas leur raison d'être. Délaissant l'étude de la nature



humaine sous son aspect abstrait et universel, elles s'appliquent à nous la mieux faire comprendre dans ses manifestations particulières et uniques. Sans elles, — le philosophe nous le rappelle avec beaucoup d'à-propos<sup>1</sup>, — l'individu comme tel ne serait jamais devenu un objet de connaissance scientifique.

Aussi, dès les débuts, nous avons perçu le rôle qu'il nous convenait d'assumer dans l'édification de la synthèse doctrinale que nos facultés de philosophie aspirent à présenter comme une connaissance aussi complète que possible de la nature de l'homme. Nous avons donné à notre recherche une orientation résolument concrète et nous avons mis à profit les diverses méthodes qui nous permettent d'atteindre au particulier, à l'individuel. En même temps, nous avons poursuivi nos efforts en vue d'articuler solidement ces conclusions nouvelles à une théorie plus générale et plus stable qui, à son tour, nous aide à en mieux délimiter la portée. Bref, nous avons essayé de nous prémunir contre les conséquences désastreuses d'un certain impérialisme méthodologique qui, comme l'a fort bien vu Jacques Maritain<sup>2</sup>, est une source constante de confusion et de mésinterprétation tant de la part du philosophe que du savant. Nous ne pouvons que nous sentir grandement affermis dans cette attitude, à un moment où les meilleurs théoriciens de la connaissance scientifique insistent pour que l'on prenne enfin conscience de l'efficacité fragmentaire de nos méthodes de découverte et du rôle nécessairement complémentaire qu'elles sont appelées à jouer dans l'élaboration d'une synthèse commune<sup>3</sup>.

Ce n'est pas tout. Indépendamment de cet élargissement de nos perspectives générales, invitant à un effort persévérant et sérieux de systématisation, nous avons tenu à éliminer de notre propre sphère de travail un ostracisme qui continue encore trop souvent de sévir dans les milieux académiques où persiste la scission entre *purs* et *impurs*. L'expérience toute récente d'Harvard est là pour nous enseigner comment le tempérament scientifique par trop absolu de certains hommes, jouissant par ailleurs d'un grand prestige, peut pousser à des positions extrémistes, détruire tout esprit de collaboration et condamner à un isolationnisme intransigeant<sup>4</sup>. C'est pourquoi nous avons préféré organiser l'enseigne-

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Louis-Marie Régis, *La signification précise de cette initiative*, in *L'hygiène mentale et l'éducation*. Montréal, l'Oeuvre de Presse Dominicaine, 1940, pp. 11-36.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *Quatre essais sur l'esprit dans sa condition charnelle*. Paris, Desclée et Brouwer, 1939, pp. 204-206.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Fernand Renoirte, *Eléments de critique des sciences et de cosmologie*. Louvain, Editions de l'Institut supérieur de philosophie, 1947; Jean Piaget, *Introduction à l'épistémologie génétique*. Paris, P.U.F., 1950.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. E. G. Boring, *Mind and Mechanism*. The American Journal of Psychology, 1946, 59, 173-192; The Harvard Commission, *The Place of Psychology in an Ideal University*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947, pp. 35-36.

ment et le travail de recherche de façon à ce que les diverses tendances, nées de la spécialisation, loin d'entraîner dans des directions opposées, fournissent l'occasion de recoupements incessants et féconds.

Sur le même plan, un autre facteur qui contribue puissamment au progrès rapide de la psychologie dans notre milieu est l'entr'aide constante et illimitée que s'accordent professeurs, chercheurs et praticiens d'une part, collègues de langue française et de langue anglaise d'autre part. En effet, tous les praticiens se sentent bien à l'aise pour venir demander à l'Université l'appui, les informations ou l'assistance dont ils ont besoin pour résoudre les problèmes souvent très difficiles qui leur sont posés. Ces contacts entretenant chez eux le goût de la recherche, ils aiment à guider le travail des étudiants et à les faire en même temps profiter de leur expérience. De même entre collègues des deux races, la collaboration a porté déjà des fruits d'une valeur inappréciable surtout en facilitant la spécialisation de jeunes chercheurs particulièrement doués.

Une autre attitude caractéristique de la psychologie française, au Canada, est celle qu'elle a adoptée d'emblée vis-à-vis de l'éducation et de la moralité. Au lieu d'afficher des prétentions normatives, parallèlement ou en opposition aux leurs, elle n'ambitionne que de les bien servir en les documentant et en les orientant sur le plan des applications concrètes. C'est que, loin de se dérober devant le fait de la liberté, elle en fait le centre de ses préoccupations. S'affirmant de plus en plus hardiment, en face des autres courants contemporains, comme une *psychologie de la personne*, dont la liberté apparaît comme une prérogative essentielle, elle s'applique à expliciter le développement, le dynamisme, les orientations et les conditionnements individuels de celle-ci. Elle récuse toute tentative de réduire au déterminisme psychologique le choix qui émane d'une volonté délibérée. Bien au contraire, considérant que l'alternative du déterminisme n'est pas la liberté mais l'indéterminisme, elle essaie d'observer comment une détermination nécessaire se laisse assumer et intégrer dans une détermination autonome. En d'autres termes, elle tâche de préciser les conditionnements psychologiques de ce qu'Aristote décrivait déjà comme une emprise *politique* du rationnel sur le sensuel. Une telle approche scientifique devait nous amener à entreprendre des efforts énergiques pour dissiper une confusion, qui devenait de plus en plus envahissante, entre la moralité et la santé, la dépravation et la névrose, le recouvrement de l'équilibre mental et le redressement caractériel ou moral, la psychothérapie et l'éducation (1).

Ceci nous entraîne à apporter quelques éclaircissements sur notre façon de concevoir les rôles respectifs de la psychologie et de la psychiatrie, au

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Noël Mailloux, *Foi et Psychopathologie. Supplément de la Vie Spirituelle*, 1948, No. 7, 284-292; Gregory Zilboorg, *Clinical Variants of Moral Values*. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1950, 106, 744-747.

moins en ce qui concerne les rencontres et les collaborations souhaitables dans la pratique. Sur ce point, une confusion regrettable subsiste, aussi généralisée que celle que nous venons de relever. De toutes les tentatives auxquelles nous avons assisté récemment en vue de résoudre ces problèmes si complexes, aucune ne paraît avoir touché le fond des choses et avoir dépassé le plan des solutions pratiques. Dans la plupart des pays, en effet, on se contente d'insister sur la nécessité d'une collaboration dont l'étendue dépend entièrement de l'arbitraire ou des sympathies individuelles. Sans s'appesantir sur ces questions de frontière, comme toutes les sciences jeunes, la psychologie clinique va vigoureusement de l'avant et s'engage dans un essor quasi prodigieux, comme en témoignent le nombre et la qualité des recherches et des publications, la variété et l'envergure des initiatives, la belle tenue scientifique des congrès, la croissance étonnamment rapide de la section clinique de l'*American Psychological Association*, la multiplicité et l'importance des situations offertes aux psychologues cliniciens compétents. Ainsi, il n'est plus personne qui ne se rende compte qu'un nouveau savoir est en train de prendre une réelle consistance, dont le prestige grandit à mesure que les réalisations s'accumulent. Dernièrement, la *Harvard Commission*<sup>1</sup> invitait les universités à prendre conscience de ce fait et insistait fortement pour que les départements de psychologie soient pourvus de ressources adéquates et aient l'opportunité de s'adonner à un travail de création. L'honnêteté la plus élémentaire interdit d'imposer des visières à une science en pleine croissance, sous prétexte que l'on ne connaît pas encore la limite de ses applications.

Remarquons tout de suite que, pour délimiter les champs d'activité de sciences destinées à s'articuler l'une à l'autre, les techniques employées ne peuvent guère fournir un critère de discernement vraiment utile. Sous ce rapport, en effet, on ne trouve plus aujourd'hui aucune science qui ne doive emprunter largement aux autres.

Sans conteste, la psychologie s'est développée pour une bonne part en exploitant les procédés auxquels on avait eu d'abord recours dans l'étude de la pathologie. Arrêtons-nous seulement à un exemple universellement connu. Parlant d'un récent approfondissement dans l'étude des complexes qui, en eux-mêmes, n'ont rien de pathologique, Charles Baudouin remarquait: "Parallèlement à lui, devait se dessiner une évolution de la psychanalyse tout entière qui, partie de la pathologie, aboutit de plus en plus à la psychologie normale. Et cela est susceptible notamment d'écarter une résistance assez naturelle que l'on rencontre lorsqu'on parle d'appliquer la psychanalyse à l'éducation: n'est-ce pas traiter l'enfant en névropathe? Aucunement. Nous pouvons affirmer aujourd'hui que la psychanalyse est essentiellement l'affaire du psychologue et du pédagogue, et n'est

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Loc. cit., pp. 38-40.



qu'occasionnellement l'affaire du médecin<sup>1</sup>". D'ailleurs on sait avec quelle énergie Freud<sup>2</sup> a lui-même réclaté que l'on étende l'emploi de sa méthode bien au delà des horizons restreints de la pathologie. Et qui oserait maintenant nier son utilité pour une compréhension ou une rééducation de la personnalité au niveau de ses assises initiales, et pour une interprétation intégrale des relations humaines?

D'autre part, on ne peut guère être surpris de l'intérêt porté par les psychiatres à l'étude minutieuse que poursuit la psychologie des divers modes de réaction et des aspects les plus variés de la personne. Surtout, ils n'ont pas manqué de mettre à profit, pour le discernement plus fin des déviations symptomatiques, des échelles qui n'avaient d'abord pour but que de nous fixer sur les limites d'une distribution normale. Aussi, André Rey notait-il très justement: "Le terme de diagnostic psychologique, fréquemment employé, peut prêter à confusion. En médecine, le diagnostic cherche à identifier l'unité biologique de la maladie responsable des symptômes présentés par le sujet, des symptômes psychologiques pouvant figurer ou non dans le tableau clinique. Le diagnostic psychologique, lui, ne cherche à connaître qu'un aspect de l'être vivant pour venir en aide à l'individu tout d'abord, par des moyens psychologiques et éducatifs, pour identifier ensuite et évaluer une certaine catégorie de symptômes dont le diagnostic médical ou psychiatrique fera son profit. . . Les rapports entre l'étude psychologique et le diagnostic médical sont ainsi très clairs. L'étude psychologique permet de constater la présence ou l'absence de certains symptômes; elle y parvient en déterminant les particularités des réactions mentales et en faisant la part des influences provenant de l'histoire du sujet et de son milieu<sup>3</sup>."

Bref, sur le plan de la pratique, il faut bien reconnaître que le recouvrement des techniques est considérable. Inutile d'ajouter qu'il apparaît plus accentué encore sur le plan de l'expérimentation et de la recherche. Aussi, serait-ce faire montre d'une impardonnable ignorance que de vouloir établir, à partir de là, une ligne de démarcation précise entre les diverses disciplines. Pour échapper à cette impasse, implicitement ou explicitement, la plupart ne trouvèrent pas mieux que de se rabattre sur un critère tout aussi factice, celui de la condition normale ou anormale du sujet étudié. Cela devait nous entraîner dans une confusion plus dangereuse et plus regrettable que toutes les autres, et que nous ne parviendrons à dissiper qu'au prix de bien des efforts.

Un minimum de réflexion aurait pourtant suffi pour ne pas laisser obscurcir certaines vérités élémentaires. Tout d'abord, il est bien évident

<sup>1</sup>*L'âme enfantine et la psychanalyse*. Paris, Delachaux et Niestlé, 1950, vol 1, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *Psychanalyse et médecine*. Paris, Gallimard, 1949.

<sup>3</sup>*Etude des insuffisances psychologiques. Tome 1: Méthodes et problèmes*. Paris. Delachaux et Niestlé, 1947, p. 5.

que, même si la préoccupation principale du psychiatre est toute centrée sur le malade, il ne saurait se désintéresser de l'individu normal. Mieux en mesure, aujourd'hui, de supputer les ravages possibles du mal mental dans une population ordinaire, il ne saurait négliger l'énorme problème de la prévention. D'autre part, ce n'est pas parce qu'un individu, enfant ou adulte, voit son équilibre mental momentanément ébranlé qu'il doit être privé de l'assistance que peuvent lui apporter le prêtre, le juriste, le psychologue ou l'éducateur, surtout s'ils sont préparés à intervenir en tenant compte de sa condition. D'ailleurs, les psychiatres ne sont plus les seuls à réclamer la collaboration du psychologue; dans les autres branches de la médecine, praticiens et chercheurs commencent d'en faire autant<sup>1</sup>.

Certes, dans le passé, il est arrivé fort souvent que l'on se soit mépris sur la nature du mal mental et que l'on ait vu de la malice ou de la perversion là où il aurait fallu diagnostiquer des symptômes. Aujourd'hui encore, bien des enfants et des adolescents continuent d'être trop longtemps considérés comme des paresseux, des menteurs ou des rebelles, avant qu'on ne les soupçonne d'être tout simplement victimes d'une désadaptation et qu'on ne se rende compte que leur équilibre intérieur est sérieusement compromis ou même détruit. D'autre part, nous sommes tous d'accord ici pour nous insurger avec vigueur contre une tendance qui, en bien des milieux, s'accuse d'une façon inquiétante. Un peu partout, en effet, on montre un empressement injustifié à découvrir des manifestations névrotiques dans tout ce qu'une conduite humaine peut présenter d'irrationnel, de non mûri, d'inadapté, et même de délictueux. Ainsi, d'aucuns en sont venus — ils ne sont pas encore très nombreux dans notre pays, heureusement! — à voir dans la psychiatrie la grande panacée moderne contre tous les désordres de la conduite et à proclamer que l'heure est venue pour elle de supplanter la morale<sup>2</sup>. Aussi, en ces dernières années, a-t-on parlé à tout propos et fort abusivement de psychothérapie là où il faudrait plutôt parler d'éducation ou de rééducation. Certes, c'est là un travail qui requiert la mise en œuvre de techniques très délicates, souvent même très spécialisées, qui peuvent relever de la psychologie éducationnelle, de la pédagogie ou de la direction de conscience. Elles demandent, d'ailleurs, une attitude tout à fait différente de celle qui guide la thérapie ou le traitement.

Pour mieux nous faire comprendre, on nous permette de recourir ici à une comparaison un peu grossière, mais fort significative. Le technicien qui applique toute son ingéniosité à réparer des machines et à les remettre

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Morton A. Seidenfeld, *Psychological Aspects of Medical Care*. Springfield, III., Charles C. Thomas, 1949; *Current Trends in the Relation of Psychology to Medicine*. University of Pittsburg Press, 1950.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. G. B. Chisholm, *The Reestablishment of Peacetime Society*, in the second series of William Alanson White Memorial Lectures, 1945, pp. 3-11.

en état de fonctionner en connaît aussi bien le mécanisme que l'autre qui applique la sienne à les construire et à les perfectionner. Il est facile, toutefois, de se rendre compte que, malgré une certaine similitude qui trompe un observateur superficiel, leur formation, leur orientation, leurs procédés devront être entièrement différents.

Ainsi, le psychiatre est avant tout un médecin dont le rôle est de guérir. Il s'agit, pour lui, de remédier à une rupture d'équilibre qui menace d'entraîner l'interception de certains processus psychiques ou même l'effondrement plus ou moins complet d'une personnalité. Il a affaire à une synthèse mentale en voie de désorganisation, et dont divers syndromes trahissent le mode et le degré de désintégration. Il s'efforce d'abord de démêler une étiologie souvent complexe et pouvant comporter aussi bien l'intervention de facteurs somatiques que celle de facteurs psychiques, puis d'instaurer un compromis assurant le maintien d'une adaptation plus ou moins efficace aux exigences de la vie. C'est là le résultat espéré d'un traitement, et on ne réalise pas assez qu'il s'agit d'un bienfait inappréciable pour celui qui se sent menacé de sombrer dans la folie. Il faut le dire: trop peu de gens encore savent reconnaître et apprécier tout ce qu'un psychiatre doit déployer d'art et de patience pour conserver à de pauvres malades assez de lucidité pour partager la vie de leur entourage.

Mais l'expérience nous révèle de plus en plus clairement que la plupart des déficiences de la conduite et des difficultés qui viennent bouleverser l'existence de tant d'individus n'ont rien de pathologique<sup>1</sup>. Il n'est pas question ici de déviation ou de désintégration, mais d'une organisation insuffisante ou inachevée. On a affaire à une personnalité à peine ébauchée, dont on discerne les premiers linéaments sans entrevoir encore les possibilités de synthèse et d'intégration rationnelle. C'est au psychologue clinicien, il nous semble, que revient la tâche d'évaluer ces possibilités et d'introduire dans ce chaos un ordre progressif. Habitué à observer toutes les vicissitudes de l'évolution psychologique, il connaît les conditions qui la stimulent et l'orientent favorablement. Il n'a pas à réparer ou à guérir, mais à compenser pour une négligence commise à l'égard d'un être qui conserve toutes ses forces vives. Ce n'est pas sur une terre appauvrie et épuisée qu'il déploie toutes les ressources de son art, mais sur une terre laissée en friche. Plus précisément, comme l'éducateur mais dans des conditions plus difficiles, il s'emploie à affermir et à cultiver l'instrumentalité d'une sensibilité encore anarchique au bénéfice d'une raison et d'une liberté naissantes.

Or, cela permet de souligner au passage l'importance du service que la psychologie est appelée à rendre à l'éducation et à la morale. En effet, aussi longtemps que cette instrumentalité à laquelle il vient d'être fait

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Bruno Bettelheim, *Love is not enough. The Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children*. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1950, p. 27.



allusion n'a pu, chez un individu, s'insérer dans le prolongement de son dynamisme rationnel, la poursuite vraiment autonome d'un idéal humain ne saurait commencer.

Dans les pages précédentes, nous avons essayé de formuler avec précision les principales positions adoptées dès les débuts par les psychologues de langue française, les quelques principes qui sont à la base de leur enseignement, de leurs recherches ou de leur pratique.

Mais il est un autre point sur lequel nous croyons devoir insister ici, car il a contribué grandement à déterminer l'attitude remarquablement réceptive que le public de langue française a prise très tôt à l'égard de la psychologie. C'est par là, d'ailleurs, que nos collègues de langue anglaise ont tout de suite pris conscience que notre orientation différait sensiblement de la leur. Comme eux, certes, nous avons le plus grand respect pour les méthodes conventionnelles et un intérêt profond pour l'expérimentation rigoureuse et la recherche désintéressée. Mais, le moment où nous entrions en scène se trouvait être précisément celui où, comme le remarquait John G. Jenkins<sup>1</sup>, la psychologie commençait de sortir des cadres étroits du laboratoire et de pressentir le rôle qu'elle est appelée à jouer sur le plan social. Ne nous sentant aucunement retenus par les liens d'un certain conformisme académique, nous nous sommes intéressés à tous les domaines de la psychologie appliquée et nous sommes allés tout droit au peuple en même temps que nous organisions nos laboratoires de recherche sur un pied enviable.

Evidemment, cela devait nous entraîner sur un terrain où nous sommes forcés d'affronter constamment des problèmes que notre méthodologie expérimentale ordinaire est encore impuissante à circonscrire de façon pleinement satisfaisante. Malgré cela, nous avons pensé que notre responsabilité était ici engagée, et que nous ne pouvions demeurer dans une tour d'ivoire chaque fois que surgissaient des problèmes vitaux auxquels il nous était possible d'apporter une solution au moins approximative et provisoire. Tous ces efforts ont d'ailleurs porté leurs fruits en nous acheminant vers d'importants progrès méthodologiques. Et, parmi nous, la psychologie sociale et collective est en voie de prendre un essor aussi vigoureux qu'inattendu. Nous avons maintenant la conviction très nette qu'elle a un grand rôle à jouer dans un pays comportant une diversité de cultures aussi accusée que la nôtre.

Il va donc sans dire que nous avons répondu avec empressement à toutes les demandes venant du public. Aussi, depuis dix ans, ces demandes n'ont cessé de se faire plus pressantes et elles se sont multipliées au point qu'il nous est devenu impossible d'y suffire. Nous avons donné d'innombrables conférences dans tous les centres de quelque importance.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *New Opportunities and New Responsibilities for the Psychologist*. Science, 1946, 103, 33-38.

Les associations professionnelles, les clubs sociaux, les groupes de parents, les commissions scolaires, les chambres de commerce, les organisations industrielles, les institutions, etc., nous ont invités de façon répétée à les éclairer sur des problèmes humains qui les concernaient directement. De là nous devons en venir à organiser des services, maintenant bien connus et fonctionnant à grand rendement, pour aider à résoudre des difficultés pédagogiques, pour s'occuper d'orientation scolaire et professionnelle, pour suivre des enfants et des adolescents dont le développement est laborieux et le comportement mésadapté, pour conseiller les parents ou les époux aux prises avec des situations plus ou moins inquiétantes, pour étudier les problèmes rencontrés dans la sélection ou la direction du personnel, etc.

Bref, pour le grand public, la psychologie a cessé d'être une science occulte. On se fait une idée de plus en plus nette et adéquate des services que l'on peut attendre d'elle. En regard des sciences médicale, psychiatrique, pédagogique, sociale et morale, son identité revêt maintenant des contours de mieux en mieux définis.

A ce tableau fort encourageant, il faut toutefois ajouter une ombre. Comme toujours, le grand public est enclin à apprécier le rendement et l'importance des sciences psychologiques en termes par trop utilitaires. Il oublie facilement que, par delà les applications, toute une science de l'homme reste en grande partie à construire et que cela ne peut être entrepris que par des chercheurs désintéressés, disposant du temps et des ressources nécessaires. Nous savons qu'une telle remarque peut paraître d'une extrême banalité, et nous n'oserions guère la formuler ici si elle ne nous amenait à poser un problème qui a des implications directes pour le développement de notre culture.

Adonnés à l'étude de la science de l'homme, nous avons voulu à tout prix retrouver l'homme. C'est pour cela que nous nous sommes refusés à nous cantonner dans nos laboratoires et à nous contenter des artifices méthodologiques conventionnels qui laissent échapper l'essentiel de la vie et n'atteignent que des abstractions. Nous avons voulu introduire dans notre champ d'observation l'homme vivant dont la conduite est influencée par une culture et motivée par un système de valeurs, et, aussi, la famille, les institutions, la société, en tant qu'elles impliquent toute une constellation de relations interpersonnelles. Il nous a semblé qu'il fallait pousser aussi loin que possible une telle étude si nous voulions orienter notre culture en tenant compte des conditions concrètes dans lesquelles s'exprime tout le dynamisme de nos aspirations.

Or, ici, nous nous sommes trouvés jusqu'à présent aux prises avec un dilemme apparemment insoluble. D'une part, le grand public, peu intéressé à l'élaboration d'une science de l'homme, nous demandait de façon de plus en plus pressante un rendement immédiat, des instruments de mesure

et des renseignements techniques trouvant tout de suite des applications utiles. D'autre part, les conseils techniques qui décident de l'emploi des fonds destinés à la recherche scientifique accueillaienent toujours beaucoup plus favorablement un projet d'expérimentation sur l'intelligence des chiens ou sur les facteurs de la motivation chez les rats, qu'un projet d'étude sur la façon dont les immigrants s'adaptent à notre culture ou sur la façon dont les enfants adoptés s'intègrent dans un nouveau milieu familial. Le prétexte est toujours le même: Il faut encourager les recherches de base, c'est-à-dire celles qui se prêtent à l'emploi d'une méthodologie dont la rigueur est comparable à la méthodologie mise au point pour l'étude des phénomènes physiques.

Plusieurs fois, la tentation du découragement nous a effleurés et la pensée nous est venue qu'il faudrait bien un jour sacrifier quelque chose de nos aspirations les plus chères pour nous plier à ce conformisme traditionnel, si nous voulions continuer à travailler. Puis, nous nous sommes ressaisis et nous avons décidé qu'il fallait à tout prix sortir de ce dilemme. Nous en étions là lorsque la Commission Royale nous a fait l'honneur de nous demander le présent mémoire.

Cela nous amène à parler de l'influence des sciences psychologiques sur la vie canadienne. Déjà, nous en avons dit assez pour laisser entendre que la psychologie a su se faire accepter par notre population et s'introduire dans les cadres de notre vie sociale. Mais, on ne peut s'attendre à ce qu'elle soit parvenue, en une dizaine d'années, à exercer une influence appréciable sur l'élaboration et l'évolution de notre culture. Pourtant, nous sommes pleinement conscients que c'est là ce qui importe et que le moment est arrivé de s'attaquer à cette tâche. Une science qui n'apporte aucune contribution à la culture dans laquelle elle se développe est condamnée à demeurer une science livresque et dépourvue du dynamisme nécessaire à la recherche et à la découverte. Sur ce point, nous sommes forcés de n'envisager que l'avenir; mais nous avons la consolation de pouvoir ajouter que cet avenir prend déjà la forme d'un devenir immédiat.

Récemment, en effet, nous fondions une section de recherches consacrée à l'étude des problèmes de l'enfance et de la famille, tels qu'ils se présentent au Canada. Cette section est adjointe au Centre d'Orientation, 39 ouest, boulevard Gouin, Montréal, où l'on a aménagé les locaux et réuni l'équipement nécessaires pour ce genre de recherches. Nous ne pouvions choisir un meilleur endroit pour installer un tel organisme, la clinique psychologique fournissant un matériel abondant pour l'observation et l'expérimentation. Un personnel à temps complet s'occupe d'y constituer une bibliothèque et de mettre au point les procédés que nous emploierons dans les investigations que nous sommes à la veille d'entreprendre. Nous espérons apprendre d'abord quelque chose de précis sur la structure, la vie et les attitudes de la famille canadienne, puis évaluer



l'influence que ce contexte dynamique ne peut manquer d'exercer sur le développement des individus.

Parallèlement, nous venons tout juste de décider la fondation d'un *Centre de recherches en relations humaines* qui s'attaquera à l'étude de ce problème dans toute son ampleur. Déjà, les plans sont complétés et les travaux de construction commenceront incessamment. Ce Centre sera pourvu de laboratoires spéciaux et plusieurs équipes y travailleront dans les cadres d'un programme soigneusement élaboré et coordonné. Au lieu de se poursuivre d'une façon diffuse, les recherches convergeront dans une même direction et viseront à nous éclairer simultanément sur les divers aspects des relations humaines. Nous voudrions ici décrire au moins schématiquement l'organisation prévue pour ce Centre de recherches qui, nous l'espérons, ouvrira ses portes dès l'automne de 1951.

Tout d'abord, dans le dessein de pouvoir profiter des données que l'observation des vivants inférieurs nous apporte pour l'étude de la psychologie humaine, nous aurons là un très bon laboratoire de psychologie comparée. Nous serons ainsi à même de nous documenter convenablement lorsqu'il s'agira de délimiter exactement la portée de certains problèmes de recherche tels qu'ils se posent au niveau humain.

En second lieu, nous avons arrêté le plan d'un laboratoire complet de psycho-physiologie. En effet, comme celui que nous venons de mentionner, ce laboratoire nous paraît indispensable pour fournir à tous les autres une documentation de base, pourvu qu'il soit réellement mis à leur service. On y trouvera tous les instruments de mesure et les moyens d'expérimentation les plus modernes.

Sur cette base commune, nous avons résolu d'établir tout un ensemble de laboratoires destinés à l'étude de la personnalité humaine, lesquels poursuivront leur travail en relation très étroite avec la section de recherches sur l'enfance et la famille organisée au *Centre d'Orientation*. Cet ensemble comprendra:

1) Un laboratoire consacré aux sciences de l'éducation. Là, toute l'attention se portera sur l'enfant dans sa relation avec l'école, sur la relation maître-enfant, maîtres-parents, école- société, sur les principaux problèmes pédagogiques.

2) Un laboratoire consacré à la *criminologie*, dans lequel on s'attaquera à une étude systématique et approfondie des divers facteurs criminogènes, de la criminogénèse, de l'état dangereux, des méthodes de prévention et de rééducation à l'aide des sciences d'observation.

3) Un laboratoire consacré à l'étude des aspects psychologiques du *travail humain*: attitudes à l'égard du travail, aptitudes, signification du travail pour les divers individus, motivation, relations humaines.

4) Un laboratoire consacré à l'étude des problèmes psychologiques que posent le développement et la culture de la *conscience religieuse* et de la *conscience morale*. Notre but est de fournir aux sciences religieuses et morales une documentation aussi riche que possible, à mesure que les sciences d'observation permettent de la recueillir.

Enfin, pour couronner tout cet ensemble, nous avons résolu de faire une place particulièrement importante à la psychologie sociale, étudiant les rapports psychologiques de l'individu avec son milieu psycho-social, à la psychologie collective, étudiant les structures d'ensemble qui caractérisent psychologiquement le groupe dans son ensemble, et à l'anthropologie culturelle. Dans ce laboratoire, l'étude des relations raciales constituera l'une de nos préoccupations immédiates.

Voilà, décrit en peu de mots, l'organisme de recherches que nous nous employons présentement à mettre sur pied. De toute évidence, il s'agit là d'une grande expérience, mais nous considérons que le risque vaut la peine d'être couru. Ce qui a emporté notre décision, c'est que nous avons vu progressivement se grouper autour de nous toute une équipe de jeunes gens, résolus et travailleurs, qui sont prêts à se vouer à cette tâche avec un extrême désintéressement. Tous sont animés de la même détermination d'apporter une contribution scientifique importante à la culture de leur pays. Cette équipe, comprenant des jeunes gens de races différentes et spécialisés dans les diverses disciplines qui ont l'homme comme objet d'observation et d'étude, donnera en même temps un bel exemple d'unité nationale. Ce n'est pas ce dont nous serons le moins fiers!

Essayer de préciser l'influence que cet organisme de recherches est susceptible d'exercer sur notre culture nationale serait, pour l'instant, matière à pure spéculation. Son but est plus modeste: il consiste tout simplement à aider cette culture, encore en pleine phase d'élaboration, à prendre plus nettement conscience d'elle-même et à s'orienter plus sûrement. Si nous y parvenons, nous aurons la conviction d'avoir rendu un service appréciable.

Qu'il nous soit permis, en terminant, d'exprimer à la Commission royale toute notre admiration pour le travail si utile qu'elle accomplit et de lui renouveler l'assurance de notre entier dévouement et de notre très sincère gratitude.

(Le R. P. Noël Mailloux, o.p., docteur en philosophie, est directeur de l'Institut de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal.)





## SOCIAL SCIENCES

PROFESSORS B. S. KEIRSTEAD AND S. D. CLARK

### I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

THE establishment of strong social science departments in the English-speaking Canadian universities has been a development of the past thirty years. In the smaller universities before the First World War what little instruction there was in economics, political science or sociology was frequently offered by persons trained in philosophy or theology and even in the larger universities the social sciences received little special attention. It was not until after the First World War that separate departments of economics, and, in a few cases of political science and sociology, were established and a real beginning made. Early appointments, too, were generally of men from outside the country, so that a sustained interest in Canadian problems had to await the appearance of a generation of Canadian social scientists. The rival claims of classics and physical sciences, however, upon the support of the universities continued to hold back the development of the social sciences until the depression of the nineteen thirties. Since then, growing student demand and community interest have led to better recognition and more nearly adequate financial provision, though the disparity between the sums spent on the basis of student registration between the physical sciences and the social sciences remains great.

The development of political science and sociology has not kept pace with that of economics. Economics has been thought of as "practical" and has secured as a result a greater measure of support from the community than has political science or sociology. Only in one Canadian university is there an independent department of sociology and only in two are there independent departments of political science. In general this has meant that sociology and political science have had to depend for support on such financial crumbs as have been left over after the needs of economics—or in some cases history—have been taken care of. Often as a result these specialized subjects have been taught by historians or economists without special competence in the field.

## II. UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES

## (a) The Teachers

Repeatedly in this memorandum we shall have to refer to the consequences of the rate of remuneration in Canadian universities. Generally speaking Canadians are fully aware that Canadian scholars are less well paid than their American colleagues. What is not understood is the degree to which they are relatively underpaid. The following table is based on direct knowledge and experience of the rates of pay offered to equivalent ranks in the United States and Canada in leading universities, and the civil service.

RATES OF REMUNERATION TO ECONOMISTS IN VARIOUS PROFESSIONAL CAPACITIES

Rank	University		Civil Service	
	U.S.	Canada	U.S.	Canada
Professor				
or its equivalent	\$12,000	\$6,000	\$10,000	\$8,500
Assoc. Professor				
or equivalent.	8,000	4,500	6,000	5,500
Ass't. Professor				
or equivalent.	5,000	3,000	4,500	4,500
Lecturer				
or equivalent.	4,000	2,000	2,500	2,320

The key rank is that of lecturer, where one recruits the ablest of young men. Whereas the brilliant young American scholar can start in universities at a slightly better rate than he could command in business or government, and can rise to top rank with the promise of a salary at least as good as he could obtain in the civil service, the Canadian scholar has to face not only the temptation of leaving his country and relinquishing his citizenship, he has also to resist the attractions of greater relative opportunities in government or business. The result can be briefly summarized. Canadian universities get a small number of first class scholars who are willing to sacrifice both financial advantage and greater scholarly opportunities in order to serve their country and scholarship at one and the same time. The present authors can testify to that unique group of first class Canadian scholars who sacrifice all worldly ambition for this purpose. Nevertheless, we must recognize that this group is small. Failure to pay more adequate salaries has inevitably resulted in some deterioration in the quality of the teaching staffs of Canadian universities. While neither of us should want to recommend the slavish adherence to the Ph.D. degree which exists in most American institutions, we do believe that Canadian universities might be invited or advised to insist upon the Ph.D. degree, or a major publica-

tion, or the equivalent in English or European degrees, before appointment to the post of lectureship or better.

It seems safe to assert that, whereas all research men of good quality are not necessarily good teachers, no man is continuously a good teacher who is not engaged, to some degree, in advancing his subject. A university teacher to be stimulating must participate, if only in a minor way, in the excitement of new discoveries. It would seem important that Canadian university salaries were such as to attract men of strong scholarly interests.

Equally important is the development of working conditions within universities favourable to the carrying on of scholarly pursuits. Coupled with a mounting burden of teaching duties within the past few years has been a mounting burden of administrative work. The relatively simple administrative techniques of twenty years ago have become inadequate in meeting the requirements of large, rapidly growing institutions. The complex administration of modern universities makes heavy demands on the time, energy and concentration of many of our senior scholars, with a consequent deterioration of their teaching and their scholarship. It is questionable whether university administrations fully appreciate the magnitude of this problem. Too often the achievement of administrative responsibility is thought of as a reward of merit, whereas such promotion is frequently a condemnation to futility and frustration. The only possible reform here would seem to be to change the hierarchical power structure of Canadian universities so as to give to the Faculties the power to make major policy decisions and so make administrative officers simply the administrative agents of the Faculties.

#### (b) The Students and their Courses

It would require several pages to present in any completeness details regarding the nature of undergraduate instruction in the social sciences in Canada. Nothing more can be attempted here than the making of a few generalizations under this head.

(i) Students coming to us from the schools are inadequately trained in language, mathematics and history. If we conceive the social sciences as technical subjects, we must require some elementary mathematics as well as the ability to write clear and intelligible English. If, as we hope, we conceive the social sciences as a part of a liberal education in the sense of an interpretation of the world we live in, we must also presuppose on the part of the student some knowledge of history. The consequence of the inadequacies of our material is that, while the best Canadian universities give a technical training in Economics, or Political Science, or Sociology, which compares reasonably favourably with similar technical training in England or the United States, our students in understanding



and in perspective are distinctly inferior to English students of comparable maturity.

(ii) Our students presently coming from the schools are immature in every way. The case for a national system of scholarships is overwhelming.

(iii) Canadian universities probably offer too many courses of instruction. For example, in Economics, McGill and Toronto offer something like twenty-five undergraduate courses of instruction, as compared with Oxford, which offers—or used to offer—six papers in Economics in the final Honours School of Philosophy, Politics and Economics. Yet the Oxford man has at the very least an equal competence in technical Economics with the McGill or Toronto man, and he is generally a more literate and more cultivated person.

(iv) This brings us to the honours course. Most Canadian universities have the advantage over American universities of offering an honours programme which is comparatively mature and disciplined. Unfortunately, Canadian honours courses in the social sciences suffer both from an inadequacy in teaching, as a result of the staff problem we earlier noticed, and from a tendency to permit over-specialization in particular subjects without proper attention to the liberal aspects of social theory and its history. We hasten here to remark that the usual Canadian honours course in the social sciences, whatever its defects, seems a much stronger training than that ordinarily offered by comparable American schools. Nevertheless there are wide discrepancies within Canada itself, and a growing number of Canadian universities are offering inadequate undergraduate training in the social sciences.

We must also point out under this head the unhappy consequences of post-war development of the teacher-student ratio. The student-teacher ratio, that is the average number of students per teacher, is the best quantitative measure of the probable quality of undergraduate instruction. Whereas at Oxford and Cambridge this ratio is about ten pupils to one teacher, it is (in economics and political science) approximately one hundred to one at McGill and Toronto. In spite of new appointments to the staff, the ratio has altered in an unfavourable way since the war. This is a further indication of the deterioration of standards and is, once again, the result of inadequate financial provision.

#### (d) Comparative Development.

Deterioration of teaching standards has probably been most evident in the smaller Canadian universities. A generation ago these universities had on their staffs teachers and scholars who inspired their students and gave them an excellent preparation in the theoretic fundamentals. As the

social sciences have developed and become more specialized, and as student populations have grown, it is no longer possible for one or two men to cover such a wide area. With the passing of the older generation of teachers, the universities have brought on their staffs young specialists who naturally have taught the courses in which they possessed *expertise*. This development, coupled with the growing tendency to introduce into university curricula subjects of a "practical" sort, has made it increasingly impossible for the smaller universities to offer a sound theoretic training in the social sciences.

### III. SCHOLARSHIP IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: RESEARCH AND WRITING

If successful undergraduate teaching can only be done by men with some scholarly interest, this is even more true of graduate teaching. Graduate training is to some extent a teaching of research techniques but, far more, it is a period of maturation and intellectual excitement from contact with active scholars. Consequently graduate work can be undertaken successfully only in universities where there are groups of active scholars.

The development of large graduate schools particularly in Toronto and McGill is an indication of the growing strength of the sciences in Canada. Before 1939 Canadian scholars normally went outside Canada for their training. It is encouraging that Canada now has two schools which are proving attractive to Canadian students, are even attracting scholars from Britain and the United States, which have received recognition and a good rating from such agencies as the National Bureau of Economic Research and the American Association of Universities, and which are stimulating Canadian scholars to make contributions to their sciences.

There are, however, some shortcomings in the work which is being done.

(a) Ph.D. training is expensive. Whereas student fees may meet as much as 60 per cent of the cost of undergraduate training, they do not meet 10 per cent of the cost of Ph.D. training. With university budget cuts likely, the work to suffer first and most will be the Ph.D. work.

(b) The quality of the undergraduate training in too many Canadian colleges is inadequate, and much time has to be spent in remedying defects in the preparation of would-be graduate students.

(c) The members of the senior staffs of the universities are so overburdened with undergraduate teaching and administrative work, that inadequate time and attention are given to the graduate student.

(d) Fellowships are few, and have not been increased in value with the increase in fees and cost of living. Too many graduate students are compelled to engage in part-time teaching or other work while carrying on

their studies, and to break off their studies and assume a full-time job before the completion of their theses. Many such students never complete the thesis, an essential part of their graduate training. They will probably as a result not contribute at a later time to their science. They will be uninspired teachers of uninspired undergraduates.

Once again we have to note the effect of Canadian university salaries on scholarship. "Research" has become a magic word. It commands money in a way true scholarship does not. The usual Canadian social scientist is a man of the middle class, on a fixed income in a period of rising prices, and facing a strong social pressure to maintain certain appearances. He cannot, for example, live in a working class neighbourhood, though his salary is likely to be rather less than that of a skilled artisan. If he devotes such leisure as he has, his summers particularly, to real scholarship, he may eventually produce a book which will advance the frontiers of knowledge. If, however, he goes to Ottawa or takes up a business offer to do a job of "research", he can substantially increase his total income.

Government and business today have discovered that they require accumulations of facts to operate. They have come to have almost a religious passion for "research", meaning the patient accumulation and, sometimes, skilled manipulation, of facts. They have the money to induce scholars to undertake this work. Moreover, where they have not seduced the scholars themselves, they have seduced the university authorities. "Research Institutes" of various sorts have been set up. The specious excuse is offered that factual research is necessary, and that some things of genuine theoretic interest may emerge, so that the social scientist may contribute to his science, to his community, and to his own financial well-being. In fact, of course, what happens is that a great deal of money is spent, much time and creative energy wasted on problems which may occasionally have a slight theoretic interest, when that time and energy might otherwise have gone into creative scholarship. Only a real passion for scholarship protects men from this kind of appeal. We have seen, only too often, in the operation of such institutes in American universities, the results of these efforts. They are meagre and unimportant. Frequently, "research" problems are dressed up to appeal to unsuspecting donors, large sums of money are acquired and spent, and the resulting "research" elaborately provides information which any respectable social scientist would already know.

Closely related to such developments are those leading to the professionalization of the social sciences. The dangers of professionalization are particularly acute in relation to economics. They appear in two forms. First, there is the danger of the professionalization of the subject itself. An example of what we mean is to be found in psychology. Psychology, as frequently taught today, is a bundle of techniques with which the student is



equipped so that when he graduates he can practise as a professional psychologist. The social sciences proper have not suffered to this degree as yet, and in all three the resistance to professionalization are, in Canada, very strong.

The second, and more serious, danger comes from the development of professional subjects on the margins of the real disciplines, through the development within universities of schools of commerce and business, and of institutes of industrial relations. Once established, such institutes and schools tend to draw off money and personnel, so that the Arts departments suffer a slow strangulation, and the professional schools soon undertake the teaching, even to the point of duplication, of the subjects given originally by the Arts departments. The result, in the end, is the complete professionalization of the subject.

Not only is the opportunity cost of real scholarship rendered high by these financially attractive alternatives, there are certain positive sacrifices which the scholar often has to make. Few Canadian universities make provision for the expenses of research. Most scholars have to pay such incidental expenses as they occur for travel, typing, and so forth. It is unusual for a Canadian publisher to publish a scholarly work without insisting on a subsidy from the author.

The establishment of the Canadian Social Science Research Council has brought some improvement in this respect. Today scholars can obtain assistance from the Council to meet the incidental expenses of research and to defray some of the publication costs of books they write. The Council offers a limited number of pre-doctoral graduate fellowships, has initiated some scholarly research on its own account, and acts as a channel by means of which genuine scholarly projects may be brought before the American Foundations for financial assistance.

Much of the strength of the Council has lain in its complete freedom to concern itself with problems of scholarship. It has not accepted money from government or business groups. Such freedom of the Council must be preserved. To set up in its stead a government supported body in Ottawa modelled on that of the National Research Council would be to deal a serious blow to the cause of Canadian scholarship in the social sciences. We fear less the danger of propaganda or of interference with a scholar's freedom to publish his conclusions, though this danger exists, than that such a Council would direct and divert scholarly energies to non-scientific problems, or to problems of only secondary interest. The existing Council at present has adequate research funds, but it has been unable to obtain in Canada the necessary support for its administrative expenses. A grant of \$10,000 a year from the Federal Government would cover all administrative expenses, and would in no way impair the freedom of the Council in its essential work.

Support of scholarship has also come from such institutions as the University of Toronto Press. It has published books at a loss, and absorbs the deficit in the publication of *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*. This journal, which enables Canadian social scientists to bring out their papers, has won a good repute internationally. Mention should also be made of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs which publishes a journal and which supports research which is sometimes of a scholarly character.

#### IV. THE IMPACT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES ON OUR NATIONAL LIFE

It is, of course, impossible to estimate the full effect of the teaching of the social sciences on our national life. Only a few external pieces of evidence may be noted:

(a) The training in scientific attitudes has affected the class which exercises leadership. Canadian business men and labour leaders show a considerable understanding of fiscal theory, and are prepared to accept, as at one time they would not, such concepts as the unbalanced budget. Canadian community leaders have adopted different attitudes towards social welfare and social problems, such as delinquency. This is partly the result of the teaching of economics and sociology in our universities.

(b) In Ottawa, the recruitment of economists to the Bank of Canada and to many of the administrative Departments and the use of economic science as the basis of policy has had several important effects. It is well-known that Canadian fiscal policy in this past war was much more successful than in the war of 1914-18. It is also known that our policy was regarded with envy by many of our allies. The attraction to Ottawa of many of our ablest economists, which has not been, as we have shown, without some evil effects on the universities, has resulted in official papers, Royal Commission reports, and statistical series which are excellent and held in high repute all over the world.

Canadian policy is generally sensible and well-informed. In this, perhaps, we have the most obvious example of the impact of the social sciences on our national life.

(c) The separation of economics, political science and sociology from law in our universities has saved these sciences from the fate of aridity which they have suffered in many European countries, where they have been taught in Faculties of Law. It has had a further, less desirable effect. Our law schools have become sadly professional and vocational. The legal profession in Canada lacks, as a whole, the discipline of the social sciences; and lawyers, who become trusted advisors of big corporations or of government, or who become judges and legislators, are only too frequently without knowledge of economics or political science, sociology or penology.

## V. CONCLUSION. THE STATE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANADA

Thus far we have dealt with teaching and research in the social sciences in English-speaking Canada. We have noted their effects on our national life. We wish to conclude with a few remarks on the state of the sciences as such. What are their present preoccupation? Where, in their development, are Canadian scholars participating?

*Economics*

In economics we might say that the Keynesian revolution has now brought on a counter-revolution which, in the United States has for the moment become dominant. The high optimism that, with Keynesian models, problems of policy could be attacked directly and successfully, has in the United States retreated before the formidable difficulties of putting Keynesian policies into practice. Also the current propaganda in favour of "free enterprise", which has swept American economists off their scientific feet, has resulted in a revival of marginalist theory and some skillful and elegant defenses. If we look at economics as a whole we find that new inquiry is concentrating on the following problems.

- (a) The establishment of models of the whole economy in which the variables are established in measurable form. This is an attempt to make Keynesian theory more applicable to problems of policy. The best new work in econometrics is being done in Oslo, London and Chicago. The field has not been greatly developed in Canada, but the Economic Research Division of the Department of Trade and Commerce has done some useful work, and people with a training in econometrics are now being appointed to the staffs of some of the larger Canadian universities.
- (b) The effort to integrate aggregative economics of the Keynesian sort with the traditional analysis of economic units. Little of this has been done by Canadian economists.
- (c) Study of economic dynamics. This is an attempt to extend analytical techniques which were formerly confined to static situations to changes of the economy over time. In this area Canadian economists have made significant contributions.
- (d) The restatement of marginal analysis, especially the theory of distribution, in an acceptable form applicable to the contemporary world. No Canadian contributions have been made to this problem.
- (e) Finally, has been the work in the field of economic history in which on the American Continent Canadian scholars have taken the lead.

*Political Science*

In the opinion of many economists today, many of the most urgent problems are no longer those of economics, but are problems which the



economist has half-solved and turned over to the political scientist. The questions of the control of monopoly, of control of the business cycle, and others, can all be solved by the economist in the sense that he can state what, *in vacuo*, could be done to eliminate excess capacity or to maintain high levels of employment. But what could be done requires the exercise of powerful controls over the economy. Such controls pose problems in public administration and problems of the parliamentary techniques necessary to maintain responsibility. These problems in turn create others of a more fundamental nature. Some political scientists have been trying to deal with these problems but the weak state of political science in Canada means that far too many Canadian university students are emerging from our universities, supposedly with training in the social sciences, who have acquired the arrogant attitude from economics that all these problems are very easy if we simply could force stupid people to do what the economist says they should do, and who have never been forced to think through the great problems of establishing a good policy.

### *Sociology*

Work in the field of sociology in Canada developed just at the time when interest in problems of human ecology was at its height in the United States and as might have been expected study of the local community and particularly of the local urban community received the greatest attention of Canadian sociologists. The research and writing which was done in this field made little contribution to social theory—the theory of human ecology tended to be accepted uncritically and applied to the local scene—but such work did contribute substantially to knowledge of the Canadian community.

With the gradual undermining of the theoretical assumptions of human ecology, Canadian sociologists, as American sociologists, have been left with no body of clearly formulated principles and indeed with no clear conception of what sociology is seeking to do. The effect of that has been evident in a tendency to a kind of faddishness. Sociologists have been inclined to make much of whatever would attract public attention; the recent interest in industrial sociology must be accounted for in these terms rather than in terms of something growing out of a developing body of social theory. Insistence upon the necessity of an interdisciplinarian approach to the problem of industrial relations has provided the excuse, but not the justification, for the shallowness of theoretical thinking.

On the other hand, the work of a number of present-day American sociologists promises to establish a very much more solid theoretical foundation on which to build a science of sociology and among no group, perhaps, is the significance of this work more fully appreciated than among the younger sociologists now teaching in Canadian universities. It is too

early, of course, to expect Canadian sociologists to make any contribution to this developing body of theory; very wisely, we feel, they are still confining themselves to the study of Canadian problems where they have an advantage because of their familiarity with the material with which they are dealing. The strengthening of Canadian sociological work will come, however, from an increasing recognition of the theoretical implications of the problems being studied.

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# L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES SCIENCES SOCIALES AU CANADA DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE

MAURICE TREMBLAY ET ALBERT FAUCHER

## INTRODUCTION

### L'ÉCOLE DE LA DOCTRINE SOCIALE CHRÉTIENNE

**L**ES premières institutions d'enseignement social, au Canada de langue française, remontent à la constitution, au début du siècle, d'une école de pensée qu'on peut désigner proprement sous le nom d'Ecole de la doctrine sociale chrétienne.

On peut considérer que l'enseignement de l'Eglise a toujours comporté une doctrine sociale, si on entend par là l'ensemble des principes de portée sociale de la théologie et de la philosophie traditionnelles dans leurs applications aux problèmes sociaux des diverses époques de l'histoire chrétienne. Cependant l'expression, "doctrine sociale chrétienne", ne date guère que de la publication par le pape Léon XIII, en 1891, de l'encyclique "Rerum Novarum"; première prise de position claire et systématique de la Papauté concernant ce qu'on appelle la Question Sociale, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des problèmes sociaux et moraux créés par l'industrialisation capitaliste du monde occidental.

Au Canada de langue française, les autorités ecclésiastiques et l'élite en général ne s'étaient intéressées à la Révolution Industrielle que dans la mesure où elle avait encouragé dans les vieilles paroisses rurales surpeuplées une exode massif vers les villes industrielles de la Nouvelle-Angleterre et les centres urbains en formation dans la Province de Québec. Encore tout à sa lutte contre le libéralisme doctrinal sur le plan politique, le clergé canadien-français s'était à peu près complètement désintéressé des problèmes de la classe ouvrière comme tels à l'intérieur de l'entreprise capitaliste, si ce n'est pour s'opposer aux premiers syndicats ouvriers organisés par les Knights of Labour.

Le coup de barre énergique donné à la pensée sociale catholique par "Rerum Novarum" ne se fit guère sentir d'une façon pratique au Canada français qu'en 1905, alors que Joseph-Evariste Prince et l'abbé Stanislas Lortie fondaient à Québec "La Société d'Economie Sociale et Politique", dont l'objet était d'étudier les problèmes sociaux du Canada de langue française à la lumière de l'enseignement pontifical. La Société ne devait

vivre que quelques années. Toutefois, entre temps, en 1907 plus précisément, elle avait inspiré la fondation par l'abbé Paul-Eugène Roy de "l'Action Sociale Catholique" consacrée surtout à la diffusion de la pensée sociale catholique par la presse. La Société en vint vite à s'identifier avec la direction ecclésiastique et le personnel de rédaction du puissant quotidien "L'Action Catholique", qui, depuis lors n'a cessé de défendre et de promouvoir, dans l'opinion publique, le point de vue catholique sur tous les problèmes sociaux, dans une soumission totale aux enseignements pontificaux et aux directives de la Hiérarchie canadienne-française.

D'abord établi à Québec, le centre de la nouvelle école de pensée devait se déplacer aussitôt pour se constituer définitivement à Montréal sous l'égide des Révérends Pères Jésuites.

C'est, en effet, à 1911 que remonte la fondation à Montréal de l'Ecole Sociale Populaire par le Révérend Père Hudon, s.j. Créée sur le modèle de "l'Action Populaire de Reims", l'Ecole se proposait de diffuser au Canada français l'enseignement de l'Eglise et de combattre ainsi l'influence maçonnique, l'indifférence religieuse et le socialisme. L'institution s'intitulait "école", car elle se donnait pour fin l'enseignement du peuple au moyen de conférences, de journées d'étude, d'un service de presse, et surtout de publications appelées "tracts".

Ces tracts mensuels de l'E.S.P., dont la circulation s'est élevée à quelque 40,000 forment maintenant une collection imposante couvrant les questions sociales les plus diverses, traitées par presque autant d'auteurs différents. Il faut reconnaître à ces tracts le grand mérite d'avoir analysé d'une façon critique beaucoup d'aspects de la société canadienne-française et d'avoir contribué à éveiller l'opinion à certaines réformes sociales essentielles. Depuis plusieurs années, l'Ecole publie aussi "Relations" une revue mensuelle.

L'institution la plus marquante de l'Ecole de la Doctrine sociale chrétienne demeure cependant "Les Semaines Sociales du Canada" fondées en 1920, par le Père Papin Archambault, s.j., et dont le secrétariat permanent fut établi au siège de l'Ecole Sociale Populaire. L'institution, qui est une réplique canadienne des "Semaines Sociales de France", est définie par son président-fondateur comme une chaire ambulante de Sociologie catholique dont le but spécifique est la diffusion de la Doctrine sociale de l'Eglise.

Les Semaines Sociales ne sont pas une œuvre d'éducation populaire; elles s'adressent plutôt à une élite qu'elle groupe chaque année afin de lui permettre de faire le point sur un problème social particulier du Canada français choisi comme thème des assises. Comme telles, "Les Semaines Sociales du Canada" réunissent chaque année dans une ville différente de la Province, en plus d'un nombre toujours imposant d'évêques, un groupe considérable de clercs et de laïques intéressés aux questions sociales.

De par le but élevé qu'elles poursuivent, l'importance des personnages

qui y participent, les Semaines sociales sont situées au cœur même de l'Ecole de la Doctrine Sociale chrétienne. L'interprétation et les applications de l'enseignement social catholique qu'on y détermine font autorité; d'autant plus que les lettres pastorales, individuelles et collectives, que les évêques canadiens-français consacrent de temps à autre aux problèmes sociaux ne font le plus souvent que les confirmer lorsqu'elles ne les inspirent pas.

Les Semaines sociales et l'Ecole Sociale populaire ont exercé et continuent d'exercer une influence bienfaisante au Canada de langue française, en patronnant le syndicalisme ouvrier et le mouvement coopératif et en contribuant de façon générale à l'amélioration de la législation sociale du Québec. De plus, ces deux institutions ont suscité et inspiré l'organisation de l'enseignement des sciences sociales sur le plan universitaire. Cet enseignement constitue l'objet du présent mémoire.

#### L'ENSEIGNEMENT UNIVERSITAIRE DES SCIENCES SOCIALES À MONTRÉAL

##### *La première Ecole universitaire de sciences sociales*

L'année même où le Père Papin Archambault fondait les "Semaines Sociales du Canada", en 1920, Mgr Gauthier, convaincu que l'Université se devait de prêter main forte aux Jésuites dans leur œuvre d'éducation sociale, suscitait la fondation d'une Ecole des Sciences Sociales, Economiques et Politiques à l'Université de Montréal, dont la direction était confiée à M. Edouard Montpetit, alors professeur d'économie politique à la Faculté de Droit. Un programme de cours du soir de deux ans pouvait y conduire à la licence en sciences sociales.

En 1940, on ajoutait au programme général une troisième année d'études, divisée en cinq sections spécialisées: la section de politique et de diplomatie, la section d'administration et de finances privées, la section du journalisme, la section de sociologie et la section de préparation aux carrières d'administration publique. Deux ans plus tard l'Ecole était érigée en Faculté.

L'institution ne s'était toutefois pas élevée au plan du véritable enseignement universitaire et pour bien des raisons. La nouvelle Faculté en demeurait à la formule des cours du soir. De plus, sauf pour les étudiants qui se destinaient à la section de politique et de diplomatie, et qui devaient être bacheliers ès arts, on ne continuait d'exiger des candidats à l'inscription que le diplôme de 12ième année de l'enseignement primaire supérieur ou la preuve d'études équivalentes". Aucune équipe de professeurs de carrière n'était constituée et l'on continuait d'accorder, en y ajoutant même une mention de spécialisation, une licence en sciences sociales à des étudiants qui ne la recherchaient pas comme point de départ d'une carrière, mais



uniquement comme un complément à leur culture générale ou à leur formation professionnelle.

La Faculté se donnait en 1943 un Institut de Sociologie. "L'Institut de Sociologie, lit-on dans l'Annuaire, a pour objet de chercher des solutions aux problèmes sociaux qui se rapportent au milieu dans lequel l'Université de Montréal est appelée à exercer son action intellectuelle. Il étudie les mœurs, les institutions, le caractère, les besoins et les aspirations de la population catholique et française du continent américain". En réalité l'Institut ne devait pas être plus qu'un centre de documentation. En effet, ne pouvant compter sur la collaboration de toute une équipe de professeurs de carrière et d'étudiants à temps complet, son directeur ne pouvait guère réaliser davantage.

Bref, avec sa structure de cours du soir, sa carence de professeurs de carrière et les déficiences de son Institut de recherche, la Faculté des Sciences Sociales, Economiques et Politiques de l'Université de Montréal, en demeurait encore au statut d'un service extérieur d'éducation populaire et bien en bas des standards minima de l'enseignement et de la recherche universitaires.

Telle serait encore la situation, si à la Faculté n'étaient venues se greffer, à titre de super-sections, deux écoles universitaires normalement constituées, sur une base de cours du jour: une Ecole de Relations Industrielles en 1945 et une Ecole de Service Social en 1948.

Cependant bien qu'elles fassent nominalement partie de la structure de la Faculté comme *Sections Spéciales* à côté des anciens cours du soir qui y constituent maintenant la *Section Générale*, les deux écoles sont en fait des institutions indépendantes ayant chacune son secrétariat, son propre programme d'enseignement, son annuaire special et sa direction autonome.

### *La Section des Relations Industrielles*

Le but de la Section des Relations Industrielles est, comme l'indique le dernier annuaire, "de former des hommes capables de comprendre, d'apprécier et de solutionner les problèmes des relations entre patrons et ouvriers, et capables d'assurer, dans le monde du travail, une meilleure collaboration entre employeurs et employés". Le cours y est de trois années à temps complet; et on n'y accepte comme étudiants réguliers que les bacheliers ès-arts. Les matières au programme y sont divisées sous cinq chefs principaux: Doctrine Sociale de l'Eglise, Economique du travail, Législation ouvrière, Organisations ouvrières et Politiques syndicales, Relations Industrielles et Administration. La rédaction d'une thèse et des stages d'étude y complètent la formation de l'étudiant en vue de la maîtrise en Relations Industrielles.

Comme la Section des Relations Industrielles est d'abord une école professionnelle, tendant à former des techniciens, elle n'est pas appelée

comme telle, ni par son enseignement, ni par les diplômés qu'elle forme, à apporter une grande contribution à l'avancement des Sciences Sociales au Canada de langue française.

### *L'Ecole de Service Social*

Née en 1948, de la fusion de deux institutions concurrentes et faisant double emploi: l'ancienne Ecole de Service Social de Montréal fondée en 1940 et la Section de Service Social Administratif et Industriel rattachée à la Section des Relations Industrielles; la nouvelle Ecole de Service Social est maintenant en pleine expansion. Son programme couvre à peu près les matières enseignées dans les grandes écoles de Service Social du continent. Et l'équipe de professeurs compétents qu'on est en train de compléter y maintient l'enseignement à un niveau qui répond aux standards des bonnes écoles de ce genre.

Cette Ecole, par l'influence de ses dirigeants et l'activité de ses diplômés, a déjà fait beaucoup pour l'amélioration de toutes les œuvres et services de bienfaisance de la Métropole. Cependant, comme il s'agit encore d'une école professionnelle, on ne peut guère en attendre une contribution proprement scientifique. D'autant moins que le cours étant borné à deux années d'études, les exigences de la formation professionnelle ne permettent pas d'y initier convenablement les étudiants aux disciplines sociales fondamentales nécessaires à la recherche et à une culture sociale plus générale.

### *L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales*

Les mêmes limitations institutionnelles affectent l'enseignement économique qui se donne à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Montréal fondée en 1907 dans le but de "former de futurs hommes d'affaires instruits et pratiques". On peut donc difficilement reprocher de ne pas pousser très loin l'enseignement de l'Economie à une institution qui ne tend pas à former des économistes mais des praticiens des affaires ou des comptables de profession.

Toutefois, si élémentaire soit-il, cet enseignement s'y trouve fort heureusement complété par un cours de Géographie économique, confié à un géographe de carrière. Il faut ajouter que l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales publie une revue "L'Actualité Economique", dont la série constitue une source documentaire indispensable. L'équipe qui dirige cette revue oriente la recherche des étudiants vers la préparation de thèses monographiques dont la collection s'impose également à l'attention des universitaires.

L'ÉCOLE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES ET SOCIALES DE  
L'UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA

Passant de l'Université de Montréal à l'Université d'Ottawa dirigée par les Révérends Père Oblats, nous y trouvons une institution spécialement consacrée à l'enseignement des sciences sociales, "L'Ecole des Sciences Politiques et Sociales" rattachée à la Faculté des Arts.

L'Ecole comprend deux sections celle des sous-gradués conduisant au baccalauréat et celle du "cours d'études supérieures (graduées) conduisant à la Licence et au Doctorat". La section des sous-gradués n'est rien d'autre qu'une phase spécialisée du cours classique organisé selon la formule des collèges canadiens-anglais avec le régime d'options, de crédits et de baccalauréat spécialisés. "A ce degré, lit-on dans l'annuaire, l'Ecole fournit les éléments essentiels de la culture classique (philosophie, lettres, histoire, mathématiques) et les cours fondamentaux permettant une large spécialisation dans l'un ou l'autre des domaines suivants: Relations politiques internationales, Relations économiques internationales, Expédition maritime internationale, Administration publique, Relations industrielles, Journalisme".

L'enseignement y manifeste des préoccupations scientifiques et y est orienté dans le sens d'un large canadianisme ouvert sur le monde. Malheureusement, il ne dépasse guère un niveau élémentaire, parce que dans un régime d'études où l'on fait encore une large part à la culture classique traditionnelle on ne peut atteindre à une spécialisation très poussée en sciences sociales.

Quant à la Section des études supérieures, c'est en fait une institution d'enseignement postscolaire dont les cours sont donnés le soir et le samedi après-midi à des étudiants déjà engagés dans une carrière ou dans des études différentes. On comprend que dans ces conditions la Section d'études supérieures ne réponde guère aux standards universitaires. Il convient d'ajouter toutefois que les dirigeants sont au fait des limitations de leur institution. Aussi projettent-ils de réorganiser, dans un avenir prochain, la Section des études Supérieures, dans le dessein d'en faire une véritable école des gradués.

## L'ENSEIGNEMENT UNIVERSITAIRE DES SCIENCES SOCIALES À QUÉBEC

Les toutes premières origines de la Faculté des Sciences Sociales de l'Université Laval sont très modestes. Elles remontent, en effet, à la fondation, en 1932, d'une institution d'enseignement postscolaire, l'Ecole des Sciences sociales de Laval alors établie exclusivement sur une base de cours du soir et se proposant uniquement de faire œuvre de vulgarisation auprès du grand public.

Comme institution proprement universitaire, la Faculté n'existe que



depuis 1938, alors que l'ancienne école était réorganisée sur un plan supérieur et qu'on fondait, en en confiant la direction au Révérend Père Georges-Henri Lévesque, o.p., l'Ecole des Sciences Sociales, Economiques et Politiques, où un programme de trois années d'études régulières à plein temps devait conduire au baccalauréat, à la maîtrise et éventuellement au doctorat. A peine cinq ans plus tard, en 1943, par suite des progrès rapides qu'elle avait accomplis, l'Ecole était érigée en Faculté.

Ce passage au statut de faculté n'était pas une simple formalité. Il s'accompagnait, en effet, d'une réforme organique majeure: la division de la nouvelle faculté en quatre départements, les Départements de Sociologie, d'Economique, de Relations Industrielles et de Service Social et la création d'un Centre de Recherches Sociales commun à tous. Cette dernière transformation fut accomplie dans le dessein de spécialiser davantage l'enseignement tout en gardant la préoccupation de donner à tous les étudiants un maximum de formation sociale générale, surtout au cours d'une année d'introduction commune. Elle avait été rendue possible par l'engagement comme professeurs de carrière d'un premier groupe de ses gradués ayant ensuite poursuivi des études spécialisées dans les plus grandes universités à l'étranger.

L'année suivante, en 1944, la Faculté créait le Service Extérieur d'Education Sociale avec la fonction d'agir comme lien entre la Faculté et le peuple, et cela non seulement par le développement des cours du soir qui se donnaient depuis 1938, mais encore par des cours par correspondance, des sessions intensives spécialisées, des camps d'étude, enfin par les diverses activités d'un "Extension Department" bien organisé. La même année, pour répondre à des nécessités particulières, le Département de Service Social passait au rang d'Ecole affiliée sans pourtant rompre les liens étroits qui le rattachaient à la Faculté.

Enfin, en 1948, toujours avec le souci de pousser davantage les spécialisations sans rien sacrifier de la culture sociale générale, le cours conduisant aux diverses maîtrises était porté de trois à quatre ans dans tous les départements de la Faculté, et de deux à trois ans à l'Ecole de Service Social, dont le programme d'études se trouve ainsi à comporter une année de plus que celui de la plupart des Ecoles de Service Social du continent.

La Faculté peut paraître exiger de ses étudiants des études exagérément longues, surtout si l'on songe qu'elle est une école de gradués où ne sont admis que des bacheliers. Ces exigences se justifient cependant, non seulement par le souci d'intégrer les diverses spécialités dans un contexte de culture sociale générale, au niveau même des études supérieures, mais encore en raison de la nature particulière du baccalauréat ès-arts qui donne accès à l'enseignement proprement universitaire au Canada français. En effet, le programme de ce baccalauréat dans les collèges classiques ne comporte aucune initiation aux Sciences Sociales,

si ce n'est les quelques notions très élémentaires de Philosophie Sociale qu'y comporte le cours de Philosophie Morale et, dans certains collèges, une étude superficielle des grandes encycliques sociales. Les bacheliers qui s'inscrivent aux Sciences Sociales n'y apportent pour ainsi dire aucune connaissance des diverses disciplines sociales.

De plus, un bon nombre d'entre eux, se méprenant sur la véritable nature des sciences sociales, s'orientent vers la Faculté dans la pensée qu'ils n'auront pas à y cultiver la mathématique, matière pour laquelle ils n'ont pas de goût et que souvent ils ont négligée durant leurs études antérieures. Il va de soi que ces étudiants ont besoin d'être réorientés, car les sciences sociales, pour autant qu'elles comportent un aspect positif, font appel à la méthode quantitative et, par conséquent, à la statistique et à la mathématique. C'est donc autant pour compenser différentes lacunes académiques que pour éviter à ses gradués une spécialisation outrée que la Faculté des Sciences Sociales a cru bon d'ajouter une année à son cours.

### *Le corps professoral*

Cette extension et cette réorganisation de son programme étaient par ailleurs fonctionnellement liées à la croissance de son corps professoral qui compte actuellement, en plus d'un certain nombre de professeurs à temps partiel, plus d'une vingtaine de professeurs de carrière, pour la plupart des anciens élèves orientés par la Faculté elle-même vers des études post-graduées dans les meilleures universités d'Amérique et d'Europe en vue du professorat.

Ce procédé de recrutement explique l'homogénéité fondamentale d'idées et l'esprit d'équipe qui caractérisent le corps professoral de la Faculté des Sciences Sociales. Il explique aussi la jeunesse relative de ses membres et, du même coup, dans une large mesure, le petit nombre de contributions scientifiques que celui-ci a fourni jusqu'à présent. Par ailleurs, il faut dire que l'insuffisance des traitements, qui existe là comme dans la plupart de nos institutions universitaires, force la plupart de ces jeunes professeurs de carrière à recourir à du travail complémentaire et souvent complètement extra-universitaire qui compromet l'exécution de leurs projets de recherches personnels. Toutefois leur fidélité à l'institution et à leur vocation universitaire les a fait résister jusqu'à ce jour à l'attrait d'emplois mieux rémunérés.

Bien qu'il y manque encore certains spécialistes pour satisfaire pleinement aux exigences académiques de ses diverses sections, le corps professoral semble par ailleurs très considérable si on le compare au nombre d'étudiants inscrits. Cette situation tient sans doute d'abord à ce que la Faculté est, par certains aspects, une Ecole des gradués, et qu'elle ne rejoint pas, comme les institutions parallèles au Canada anglais, les étudiants au niveau du collège; mais elle tient aussi à la jeunesse de l'institution et

à la méconnaissance de l'enseignement qu'on y donne et des carrières multiples auxquelles elle prépare, en particulier dans les collèges classiques où se fait son principal recrutement.

Nous ne doutons pas toutefois qu'à mesure que la Faculté sera mieux connue et appréciée dans le milieu, ses étudiants se feront plus nombreux, car son personnel enseignant lui permettrait d'en conduire, avec toute l'attention personnelle voulue, un nombre plus grand à la maîtrise et aux carrières sociales de plus en plus variées auxquelles elle donne accès.

### *L'Enseignement*

Voilà en gros pour le développement, la structure et l'organisation de la Faculté des Sciences Sociales de Laval. Il nous reste maintenant à analyser son enseignement afin de dégager les postulats méthodologiques dont il s'inspire et l'idéal qui l'anime. Les notes distinctives de cet enseignement découlent d'une interprétation et d'une actualisation particulières des caractères mêmes de la Faculté des Sciences Sociales de Laval: institution universitaire, catholique, française et canadienne. Comme telle, en effet, la Faculté s'applique à donner un enseignement social scientifique, conforme à la doctrine catholique, dévoué à la culture française et conçu en vue de répondre aux besoins du Canada.

D'abord un enseignement scientifique. La Faculté interprète le terme scientifique dans son sens le plus compréhensif, c'est-à-dire que tout en y intégrant les sciences sociales empiriques, comme la Sociologie et la science économique, dont l'objet est la connaissance positive des modalités contingentes de la réalité sociale, elle y inclut aussi les disciplines proprement philosophiques, qu'elle juge indispensables pour rendre compte de ce qu'il y a d'universel et de permanent dans le phénomène social et surtout pour établir les fins en fonction desquelles il s'agit d'organiser et de régir la vie sociale.

Ainsi donc la Faculté accepte les sciences sociales positives, sans toutefois tomber dans le positivisme; car celui-ci implique d'une part, que le réel se limite à l'observable et la connaissance scientifiquement certaine à la découverte des constantes vérifiables expérimentalement selon lesquelles les phénomènes d'observation s'associent entre eux et se déterminent réciproquement; et, d'autre part, qu'il n'existe pas d'autres principes directeurs de la vie sociale que la multiplicité des fins relatives et sans cesse changeantes que les hommes en société poursuivent en fait.

La Faculté des Sciences Sociales, elle, vise au contraire à une harmonisation des sciences sociales positives et de la Philosophie en vue d'une connaissance scientifique intégrale de la réalité sociale, et au niveau de l'enchaînement des faits concrets qu'elle implique et au niveau des principes universels qui la fondent et qui doivent la régir. Le Révérend Père Lévesque a ainsi résumé très clairement les positions méthodologiques



de la Faculté dans une communication donnée à la Canadian Political Science Association en mai 1947:

“Et nous disons que pour être complète, elle (la connaissance des choses sociales) doit être à la fois spéculative et pratique. Et cela parce que c'est la nature même des choses qui l'exige. En effet, pourquoi faire des études sociales sinon pour connaître la vie sociale sous tous ses aspects? Or cette vie sociale comporte deux aspects principaux: 1o—l'aspect *positif*: c'est la vie sociale en tant que vécue dans le passé et le présent, autrement dit ce sont les *faits sociaux* pris comme tels; 2o—l'aspect *normatif*: c'est la vie sociale en tant que future, la vie que les hommes devront nécessairement mener et que, puisqu'ils ont une raison, ils devront organiser rationnellement selon des règles de conduite que nous appelons *devoirs sociaux*. Ce sont là les deux aspects fondamentaux de la vie sociale, et les deux doivent être considérés sans quoi la connaissance de la vie sociale est forcément incomplète et manque de réalisme.

Pour être réaliste, en effet, c'est-à-dire pour être fidèle à la nature des choses elles-mêmes et saisir toute leur réalité, celui qui fait des études sociales doit absolument connaître d'abord les *faits*, leur explication et les lois qu'ils révèlent. C'est là le domaine de ce que nous appelons les sciences sociales proprement dites. La connaissance des faits sociaux, des réalités sociales qui existent ou qui ont existé est donc le premier pas à faire, car il faut nécessairement partir du positif si on ne veut pas construire dans les nuages.

Mais après qu'on a méthodiquement pris connaissance de ce qui a été et de ce qui est, et qu'on est parfaitement au courant des faits sociaux et des lois qui les régissent, il faut aussi savoir ce qui doit être, connaître quels sont les *devoirs sociaux*. Et ces derniers constituent à leur tour l'objet propre d'une discipline spéciale qu'on appelle la philosophie sociale et dont le rôle spécifique est de déterminer quelles sont les fins et les normes de l'activité sociale.

Et nous estimons que sans ces deux disciplines essentiellement distinctes mais nécessairement complémentaires il ne peut y avoir de connaissance intégrale de la vie sociale. La science sociale et la philosophie sociale ne sont donc pas deux ennemies mais plutôt deux sœurs, deux lumières qui éclairent chacune à sa manière la vie sociale des hommes. Ainsi donc l'étudiant qui veut être réaliste et qui veut posséder une formation sociale complète doit s'enquérir à la fois des faits et des devoirs sociaux, il doit connaître non seulement la physiologie des sociétés mais aussi leur téléologie. Et cette double connaissance nous la considérons très importante car la vie sociale de tous les jours nous démontre abondamment que les savants sans principes sociaux ne sont guère plus souhaitables que les philosophes sans contact avec les faits; que l'absolutisme étroit des théoriciens qui cultivent les principes sans se préoccuper des faits est aussi loin du réel, et donc aussi néfaste pour l'esprit humain, que le relativisme exagéré des positivistes qui ne veulent considérer que les faits sans rien savoir des principes

directeurs de la vie sociale. Redisons-le, ce qui importe à notre avis c'est d'être tout simplement réaliste, de voir les choses telles qu'elles sont. Et, puisque la vie sociale implique des faits et appelle des principes, les deux ayant, quoique à des titres différents, une importance capitale, il est nécessaire, si l'on veut rester objectif, d'accorder aux uns *et* aux autres toute l'attention qu'ils méritent. Et c'est pourquoi nous pensons que si la vie sociale nous les montre constamment liés les uns aux autres dans une nécessaire interdépendance et une inévitable corrélation, l'esprit n'a qu'à les accepter tels quels et à les étudier non pas les uns à l'exclusion des autres mais ensemble, tels qu'on les rencontre dans la vie et d'en faire la synthèse la plus fidèle possible.

Disons donc, pour résumer, que ce que nous entendons par la fin des études sociales c'est la connaissance intégrale de la vie sociale c'est-à-dire d'abord et en premier lieu la constatation expérimentale positive et l'explication des *faits* complétée ensuite par la connaissance normative des *devoirs* sociaux; c'est-à-dire, en deux mots, une science et une philosophie de la société".

On trouvera peut-être dans certains milieux universitaires étrangers que la Faculté fait la part trop grande dans son enseignement à la philosophie, surtout à une philosophie d'inspiration thomiste. Mais la Faculté considère qu'aucun penseur social, fut-il positiviste, ne peut échapper à une certaine conception philosophique de la société et de ses fins, et qu'alors il vaut de beaucoup mieux la formuler expressément. Quant au thomisme, à condition de lui garder comme à tout système vivant, sa faculté d'assimilation il lui apparaît comme le plus apte à répondre d'une façon satisfaisante aux problèmes proprement philosophiques que la réalité sociale pose à l'esprit humain.

Quant au reproche inverse qu'on lui fait d'accorder une trop large place dans son programme aux sciences sociales positives, elle ne le considère pas justifié, convaincue qu'elle est non seulement de leur valeur explicative dans les limites de leur objet, mais encore de leur nécessité, sur le plan normatif lui-même, pour assurer aux principes philosophiques et théologiques, comme aux directives papales, leur application la mieux adaptée aux conditions contingentes de la réalité sociale, conditions qui ne peuvent être adéquatement connues sans faire appel aux méthodes de ces disciplines.

Scientifique au sens plein du mot, l'enseignement de la Faculté des Sciences Sociales veut être aussi un enseignement conforme à la pensée sociale de l'Eglise. Ce qui cependant ne veut pas dire, pour elle, un enseignement où se donnent surtout des cours de théologie, parce que, et à juste titre, elle n'a pas à doubler le rôle d'une faculté de théologie.

De plus, elle considère qu'un enseignement conforme à la pensée sociale catholique ne signifie pas qu'on doive s'en tenir au pur commentaire littéral des grandes encycliques sociales. D'abord parce qu'un enseigne-

ment qui se réclamerait à chaque instant et exclusivement de l'autorité ne répondrait pas aux exigences d'une véritable formation universitaire, laquelle suppose une recherche discursive de la vérité. Dans sa Somme théologique, en effet, saint Thomas d'Aquin, après avoir donné en quelques mots seulement l'argument d'autorité, ne consacre-t-il pas un développement beaucoup plus considérable aux arguments d'ordre rationnel. Ensuite parce que les principes qu'invoquent les encycliques, pour être bien compris, doivent être replacés dans le vivant même de leur contexte doctrinal; et que les directives générales qu'elles donnent, ont besoin d'être adaptées, à la lumière des sciences sociales positives, aux conditions diverses et changeantes de la réalité sociale.

Catholique, l'enseignement de la Faculté des Sciences Sociales veut l'être encore par l'idéal social qu'il poursuit: un idéal qui n'assigne pas toutefois à la charité surnaturelle les limites de la communauté de foi, ou même de la communauté ethnique; un idéal social *catholique* où, toutes les précautions étant prises pour la conservation de la foi, la charité est appelée à respecter, en la surnaturalisant, la vertu naturelle de justice sociale qui fait un devoir à tous les hommes de bonne volonté de collaborer, dans l'ordre social et politique, à la réalisation du bien commun temporel de l'humanité tout entière.

L'universalité de la vérité scientifique qu'elle recherche et la véritable catholicité de l'idéal social qu'elle poursuit, n'empêchent pas la Faculté des Sciences Sociales de Laval de se considérer au service de la culture canadienne-française, à laquelle elle est indissolublement liée par son caractère ethnique. Fidèle à sa mission proprement universitaire, elle veut toutefois la servir non seulement à la façon du sel qui conserve mais aussi et surtout à la façon du ferment qui transforme et qui élève. L'histoire n'enseigne-t-elle pas, en effet, qu'une culture qui vit uniquement de son acquis, est une culture qui végète; et que, par contre, les cultures progressives sont celles qui, ouvertes au monde par les sommets, se conforment à la loi fondamentale des vivants, la loi de l'assimilation. Les grandes cultures sont même habituellement apparues dans le monde à un point de croisement de cultures différentes, là où l'assimilation devient la plus enrichissante et où peuvent s'opérer les grandes synthèses culturelles qui seules marquent un avancement. Partant de cette conviction, la Faculté des Sciences Sociales de Laval a l'ambition de faire profiter, dans les limites de son champ d'action et de ses moyens, la culture canadienne-française de la situation privilégiée qu'elle occupe dans le monde, au confluent des trois grandes cultures: française, américaine et anglaise, dont les influences viennent se conjuguer chez elle avec le grand courant culturel catholique, dont la source est à Rome.

Opérer sur le plan académique une synthèse critique de ces apports spirituels divergents, mais aussi complémentaires par plusieurs de leurs



aspects, voilà ce à quoi tend d'abord la Faculté des sciences sociales. A cette fin, elle a voulu que ses futurs professeurs de carrière aillent parfaire leurs études universitaires, les uns aux Etats-Unis, les autres en Angleterre et dans les universités canadiennes-anglaises, les autres enfin soit en France, soit en Belgique, soit en Suisse, de façon que, dans l'unité d'une même équipe, ils puissent ensuite tenter d'intégrer les contributions aux sciences sociales de tous ces pays avec lesquels nous avons déjà des affinités par un aspect ou l'autre de notre culture.

C'est à cette fin encore que la Faculté se tient constamment en contact avec les centres universitaires de ces divers pays, par sa participation active aux congrès des grandes sociétés académiques en Sciences Sociales, par des visites croisées de professeurs et par des échanges continuels de correspondances et de publications. La Faculté y a déjà gagné un prestige enviable à l'étranger, un prestige qui dépasse même ses réalisations actuelles, et qu'elle considère comme sa principale contribution au rayonnement de la culture canadienne-française et au bon renom des Canadiens français à l'extérieur.

Par ailleurs, l'attachement patriotique que la Faculté des Sciences Sociales porte à la culture canadienne-française et qu'elle prétend bien servir de la meilleure façon en l'ouvrant aux riches apports culturels qui s'offrent à elle, n'aboutit pas, dans ses perspectives, à un nationalisme éthnocentrique à l'intérieur de la Confédération. En effet, à titre d'institution *canadienne*, elle se reconnaît l'obligation de travailler positivement, dans sa sphère, à la promotion du bien commun canadien, auquel doit être subordonné, en justice sociale, le bien de tous les groupes particuliers du pays.

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## NATIONAL HISTORY

HILDA NEATBY

AN intelligent awareness of the past is generally considered to be a sign of maturity in an individual or a community; but the Canadian people, although showing unmistakable signs of political maturity, still regard their history with indifference tempered by distaste. Eminent authorities who are not historians have suggested that the situation might be remedied by "the sociological approach"; they deplore "the dry-as-dust constitutional history", and ask that history be written for "the common reader"—a rather uncommon individual. Such vague preachments from those whose presumed competence lies in fields remote from history are part of the penalty which Canadian historians must pay for their failure to produce works sufficiently varied to appeal to the many different types of readers who would certainly be interested in history, even in Canadian history, if they had the opportunity.

### I

There is a general impression abroad that academic historians are a group apart, whose excessively dry books are read by reviewers and by their colleagues but by very few others. Although there is enough truth in this view to account for the low estate of Canadian history, it ignores the essential fact that these shadowy academic figures are, or should be, the historian's historians. They are the wholesalers from whom, for the most part, the popular and text-book historians procure the wares which they retail to the public. On the quality of their work and on their ability to inspire good popularizations must depend the general level of production and consumption in Canadian history.

It is not possible to explain or evaluate this fundamental academic work without touching briefly on the nature of Canada's past, and the problems that it has offered to all historians. Central Canada, the nucleus of the later Dominion, was, like the newly-formed United States, an eighteenth century by-product of an imperial struggle which covered the continent and the world. For the United States the problems of its own origin, nature and destiny could be expressed with revolutionary simplicity. The federated states were a group of communities born of a desire



for freedom, now in maturity giving full expression to that desire, and demonstrating the will and the power to people a continent in the name of liberty and independence. In spite of minor disagreements and complications this single simple legend was there for historians to exploit to the full. It served a great purpose as a unifying national force. It probably still serves that purpose to a considerable extent in the popular mind, although serious historians have long been engaged on the work of demolition. What its cost has been in terms of isolation from the rest of the Anglo-Saxon world must be left to the sociologists to calculate.

Canada, fortunately or otherwise, has no such legend—no single love or hate. The nucleus was the French colony of the St. Lawrence, founded and for long maintained by the joint efforts of the missionary and the fur trader. In 1763, this colony was shorn at one stroke of leaders and of hinterland. The various groups which for the next century and more penetrated into or gathered around this nucleus had little sympathy with or understanding of it or of one another. They had no common loyalty at home and no common love or hate abroad, although different sections for different reasons did possess a dislike or fear of the United States which one Canadian historian has compared with the parallel American dislike of Great Britain. Moreover, for well over a century after 1760, Canadians certainly were on no more common ground when looking forward to their destiny than when looking backward at their past. An able and distinguished statesman of the later nineteenth century not only believed in but publicly advocated the three very different destinies of annexation, independence and imperial federation one after the other in little over three decades. While the United States marched proudly on in the train of what was assumed to be manifest destiny, Canada, with no such guiding ray from the historian's Providence, had gropingly and cautiously to feel her way.

It should, therefore, be no cause for surprise that Canadian historians too had to grope and fumble, for as one of their great English colleagues has pointed out, the historian himself is the product of history. For nearly a century, Canadian history has been accumulating in a fragmentary, local and sporadic fashion. Excellent work has been done by scholars in many fields, but a clear philosophic concept of the whole is still lacking, and the gulf between the academic historian and the general public has not been bridged.

It was not unnatural that the first great Canadian history should be the French work of F. X. Garneau who wrote in the 1840's the story of survival against the perils from the wilderness, the Indian, the New Englander and the English conqueror in a volume which is still a classic. To Garneau and to the school which he founded, Canadian history was indeed *une épopée des plus brillants exploits*. This approach in its romantic

aspects was taken up and developed by the genius of Francis Parkman who, although alien in sentiment to French Canadian nationalism, was fully conscious of the epic qualities of the great struggle so much of which had taken place in his own land. Thus exploited in both languages, the heroic period of early Canadian history was opened in its romantic form to Canadians both French and English-speaking. The profound emotional and spiritual appeal, however, was for the French alone. English-speaking Canadians could and did admire Champlain, La Salle, Brébeuf and Talon for their characters and careers, but the true appeal of the epic in the nineteenth century was the racial and national appeal, the sense of being really a part of and belonging to the great deeds of the past. English-speaking Canadians, especially the Protestant Canadians, had no sense of proprietorship even in the pious and moderate Champlain, much less in the devoted and single-minded Brébeuf. They might have developed their own rival heroes in the men of the Hudson's Bay Company and other explorers of the West; but they did not, for these were even more alien to the historic past of Ontario and the Maritimes than were the Frenchmen of the St. Lawrence. They were, therefore, largely neglected until the Westerner undertook his own history from a freshly sectional point of view.

The great interest of the Ontarian and the Maritime historian writing in and of the nineteenth century was the development of self-governing institutions. With the example of their nearest neighbour before them, and in keeping with the spirit of the great age of liberalism, it was quite natural that they should tend to adopt the familiar nineteenth century theme of the struggle for freedom against tyranny. But Canadians unlike their superlative neighbour are condemned to the middle way. Apart from the fact that British tyranny in Canada had been of a very moderate kind, by the end of the century English-speaking Canada was coming strongly under the influence of the current sentiment of imperialism, and was most anxious to induce the rather hesitant French-speaking section to co-operate. Therefore the English-speaking Canadian historian in search of a patriotic pattern found himself condemned to a gentle rhythm of pros and cons instead of a fine roll on the drums of liberty. The ultimate decision to give Lount and Matthews, executed for complicity in the Upper Canada rising of 1837, an honourable burial, but to inscribe on the memorial stone their names only with no account of or comment on their deeds, typifies the plight of the responsible historian. He was compelled to write of relatively recent and stirring events in tones of studied moderation and compromise.<sup>1</sup> He reflected, rightly and necessarily, the

<sup>1</sup>A joint work on the Lower Canadian struggle of 1837 by French and English authors invites us to admire the devotion to law of the one side and to liberty of the other.

national policy of cautious empiricism; but such a safe and sensible policy does not produce the moving historical legend without which history will not capture the imagination of a people.

Yet much useful work was done. The beginning of the twentieth century saw the production in English of three great series which represented admirably the patient and laborious but still superficial and somewhat parochial investigations accomplished so far in the Canadian historical field by writers in both languages. These series mark the close of the semi-literary period in serious Canadian historiography. They were on the whole competent and careful, but they did not possess either the sound, meticulous, historical scholarship of a later day, or the strong imaginative literary appeal that at the cost of many false impressions may rouse a people to an awareness of itself. Yet they did show a dawning sense on the part of the historian of Canada's emergence from colonialism into a national entity. Moreover, the increasing attention to the whole Canadian community from its aboriginal beginnings to its modern development not only in political affairs but in economics, arts and letters represented an intellectual development and emancipation which paralleled constitutional growth.

During the last three or four decades the writing of history has been increasingly centered in universities and therefore "professionalized". Much more work has been produced and its extent is constantly growing. In every period and in every field of interest are being written short articles or longer monographs upon which more general histories can be based; without these no authoritative work is possible. The excellent constitutional investigations of the twenties in which Canadian historians profited much from the work of English and American colleagues in the same field have been followed during the last twenty years by important studies in economic history. These studies, carried on in Canada by Canadian historians, give a fresh and illuminating perspective on political and sectional wrangles and have been hailed as a notable achievement in North American historiography. Canadian history has also profited much from the elaborate and detailed investigations represented in the series of volumes on Canadian-American relations financed by an American foundation. Finally, there is a growing group of works on the West which, although occasionally somewhat charged with emotion, does help to give a new view not only of Western but of all Canadian history. In general, it may be said that the body of Canadian history has been multiplied many times in the last few decades; and that the level of scholarship has been much raised.

There are, however, certain grave deficiencies in Canadian historical writing. First, and perhaps most serious, is the almost complete lack of that class of historical literature which has a nearly universal appeal, the



historical biography. From the viewpoint of a general popular understanding there could hardly be a more serious deficiency, for the average intelligent reader rightly feels that he can best learn his history through the men who helped to make it. Canadians, however, cannot do so. Most biographies of great Canadians combine a lengthy and often competent history of the age with an uncritical eulogy of the subject who is cast for the hero's part. Worst of all, the hero remains remote. We know what he said in public on the great issues of the day; we get the stock anecdotes always attached to popular public figures; but we never really know him as a person. There is the occasional feverish reaction against the polite official biography as in the highly coloured works of W.T.R. Preston. The sad state of Canadian biography is emphasized by the fact that even these violent attacks failed to produce serious critical biographies of his principal victims, Lord Strathcona and Sir John A. Macdonald. The best Canadian biographies are probably those which follow most faithfully the Victorian tradition of lengthy and numerous citations from speeches and letters. This tradition which disappeared elsewhere in the debunking era of the twenties still survives in Canada with all its vices and virtues.

For the poverty of Canadian historical biography the historian cannot be blamed entirely. There is reason for suspecting that some of our most successful Canadian statesmen have been very dull people; or that they or their families, by destroying or suppressing all evidence to the contrary, have wished them to appear so. Carleton, an early example, instructed his wife to destroy all his private papers at his death, and she, in a most regrettable demonstration of wifely obedience, has left us with no more than glimpses behind a formal façade of a curious and complex personality. Other equally interesting Canadian statesmen have succeeded in shrouding themselves in obscurity so complete as to defy the efforts of their would-be biographers.

Historians, however, cannot plead for their fault mere lack of material. The historical biography requires the combination of historical scholarship with literary skill and philosophic insight. It is probably the most difficult thing to do really well; the Canadian failure must be attributed to lack of skill and maturity on the part of historians as well as to dearth of material.

Another regrettable lack in Canadian historiography is the absence of works by Canadian historians in other than Canadian fields. One or two important exceptions only serve to emphasize the general provincialism which is a sign of our relative poverty and immaturity. The Institutes of Mediaeval Studies in Montreal and Toronto promise to broaden the general field of activities and to invite research in matters perhaps too much neglected in this age and on this continent.

The principal general popular works on Canadian history also come, as a rule, from professional Canadian historians. Some half dozen good ones have been published during the past ten years. During the previous twenty only two such histories appeared, one of them by an American and both written mainly with a view to school or college use. The more recent works, all by Canadians, although perhaps written partly for the college market, are also addressed to the general reader who wants to know and understand Canada and Canadians in relation to their history. With very wide differences in style, interpretation and arrangement, these volumes achieve on the whole a high level of excellence. The encouraging feature of this crop of the 1940's is not only its general excellence but the fact that after the appearance of five, a publisher in 1949 had the courage to put out a sixth, and in 1950 there have appeared two more. There are appearing also a number of historical novels and some stories for children. Most of the former, like the latter, exploit the exotic themes in our history. The historical novel of character is lacking, as might be expected in a country incapable of producing good historical biographies.

Good text book material for primary and secondary schools is wanting. Competent historians have written suitable texts; and there has been a good deal of writing down by writers of less repute. Some of this is very good, especially on provincial and local levels, but some is very bad. There is still a great field for good and able popularization on the elementary levels. There is a very general demand at the moment for one text book for all Canadian schools. That request is often, though not always, made by those who regard a history text book as a collection of vitamin pills requiring only to be administered at the right time and in the right quantity. At the present stage of our history and our historiography, a text that would suit the two cultural groups and the four great geographic and historic sections of Canada would be a pale and featureless mass of facts. If the time comes when we can produce a really good and living story which fulfils both the local and general needs of all schools in our vast and varied country, the need for one text rather than ten will be gone. No historian should ever assume a task which compels him to ignore any facts; and no teacher should ignore the fact that the best way to make history live for a child is to present it to him as an extension back into time of his own society.

An essential factor in historiography as in every other form of literature is the scholarly review. In Canada, the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* and the *Canadian Historical Review* have for many years filled a role of increasing importance. The latter attempts to review all historical works relating to Canada in either language, and to give some account of all activities tending to encourage an interest in and under-

standing of Canadian history. The articles are nearly all in English and by English-speaking historians. Most of them relate to the period following 1760. Hitherto, the *Canadian Historical Review* has confined itself almost exclusively to Canadian material. It is proposed, in future, to accept articles in other fields of history.

The importance of the scholarly review in giving the young writer an opportunity to publish and in setting standards of achievement is very great. The *Canadian Historical Review* has performed an admirable service in stimulating scholarly work, in helping to open new fields and in co-ordinating research work done in university departments. That much of the material makes pretty dull reading may perhaps be blamed partly on an age that has convinced itself that the artist's sense of form is a menace to "scientific truth", and partly on other causes which must now be considered.

## II

It is probably fair to say that for a young country, only recently aware of its own increasing maturity among the nations of the world, the work done so far in Canadian history is of a high order, and is increasing in quantity and variety. For this Canadians must acknowledge their debt to the French group among their number who so early became aware of their history, and to distinguished British and American scholars, who by their work in Canadian history and related fields have helped set high standards which Canadians have maintained and developed. Yet, from the viewpoint of historical production alone, there are many discouraging factors to be faced, and these serve amply to correct undue complacency.

First, Canadian historians, few in number as they are, are divided into two groups by language and tradition. Between many individuals there is cordiality and co-operation, but the groups remain two. Practically all French-speaking historians are bilingual. Most English-speaking historians read French as a matter of course, but probably only a few could discuss their work freely in French with a French-speaking colleague. With very few exceptions, English-speaking historians have confined themselves to the period after 1760; French-speaking, to that before, or to their own communities. The exceptions to this rule lie mainly in semi-popular or in specialized works. There is a boundary which is not freely crossed by those engaged in original research. The maintenance of such a dividing line is a serious loss in a group already small and scattered in relation to the tremendous tasks before it. The division automatically operates to delay the development of any one general interpretation of Canadian history, inevitably bound to be a matter of dispute among the political, cultural, sociological and economic interpreters. This lack of a common philosophy is, of course, one conclusive answer to the



demand for one text book, for contrary to the popular impression it is the common philosophy that must produce the common text book rather than the reverse process. Any standardized philosophy or interpretation must of course preclude real and live historical investigations, but some general ground of agreement and understanding would stimulate such investigation and help to create a real school of Canadian history. Today we have no school, only two groups each one divided somewhat within itself.

Moreover, at the moment, Canadian historians are not only divided but rather dispirited, being like the apostle beset on every side. Nearly all those who write history teach it. Those who teach it in universities find themselves departmentalized into the College of Arts, a despised group at the best, in which they may choose between attaching themselves to the humanities, where at least they dwell with their peers in the lowest place, or being accepted as the Cinderella of the social sciences. Whichever they choose they are likely to learn that they occupy a small and shrinking place in a changing world, where the modern social scientist freely admits his debt to the anthropologist but rarely to the historian.

Most historians therefore find themselves cast in the role of artists whose art has gone out of fashion, and like the artist they must add poverty to the list of their woes. The historian's work is not obviously useful, and the history professor seldom gets the incidental employment which comes as a financial relief to his colleagues in other departments. This would be an advantage in leaving him freer for original work except for the fact that, unlike his scientific colleagues, he can seldom get grants for travelling, for research, or for research facilities. Poverty has few terrors for energetic enthusiasts, but poverty without any compensation in the way of opportunity for rewarding work, and with no hope of gaining any recognition for achievement, usually repels active and vigorous minds. It is probably doing so in the historical field. There are too many historical scholars unable to give a rational explanation or defence of the field of their endeavours. This is a dangerous symptom. Nothing comes of nothing, as King Lear said. This negative attitude is a symptom and it may well prove to be a cause of decay in Canadian historiography.

### III

Canadians do not in general resort directly to the professional historian as the source of their historical convictions. They are influenced to a considerable extent by popular books, and in some measure by our scanty historical museums and our struggling historical societies. All these, however, depend on the universal foundation of what may be called involuntary

absorption through the efforts of these nationwide agencies, the school, the radio, and the film.

No final judgement can be made on the value of the historical contribution given by the schools, but some generalizations may be attempted. First, all provinces recognize the importance of history which holds a large place both in public and high school programmes. A study of these programmes does, however, reveal an embarrassment rather creditable to the school authorities who realize the importance not only of giving some general historical notions to all those children who leave school at thirteen or fourteen, but of including in their programmes, in addition to Canadian history, British, American and European history. One is forced to the conclusion that such a dispersal of energies must result in rather vague and cloudy notions in the minds of most pupils.

Second, in a well-intentioned attempt to bring history alive and to relate it to the rest of life, several of the provinces, particularly in the west, have gone in for a topical rather than a chronological approach and have merged history more or less completely in an omnibus subject called "social studies". The result is that the student almost literally loses all sense of time and very nearly all sense of place also. The unhappy combination of history and "civics" conveys him with more speed than accuracy from King John and Magna Charta in England to Baldwin, La-fontaine, Howe and Responsible Government in British North America. This is supposed to teach him the truth about democracy; but the truth, if there is any, often rests on such a foundation of inaccuracies and distortions as to lead the historian to inquire whether even such an end justifies such means. Students emerging from the treatment can hardly be blamed for showing, as they have done in the past, a dislike for all history and particularly for Canadian history. Their ignorance is equal to their dislike. Groups of students in one junior college year after year, asked to name any well-known figure of the seventeenth century, after deep thought, would summon up Queen Elizabeth; a few might think of Cromwell; no one ever mentioned Louis XIV, Champlain, Frontenac, La Salle or any other well-known Canadian figure.

Nevertheless in the universities recently there has been a renewed interest in history, particularly in Canadian history. History departments in general feel that the prejudice against Canadian history, which used to be marked, is dying away. This change may perhaps be attributed partly to an increased consciousness of history, especially of national history, during and since the war; and partly to the group of good college and high school manuals mentioned above. More of these manuals on a more elementary level might do much to counteract the unfortunate tendencies in school curricula. However, in spite of encouraging signs of increasing interest, the universities are not turning out enough graduates

in history to staff high schools, even with persons passably well qualified to teach the subject. Most universities attempt to give some graduate work in history, but in nearly all, staff, library and documentary materials are inadequate. Advanced graduate work may be done in a few institutions but most Canadian historians receive their training in the graduate schools of the United States, very often from expatriated Canadian professors.

There is no need to stress the possibilities of the radio for the popular historical "talk". They are only limited by what the public will take. Talks on historical and related subjects are a regular part of the C.B.C. programme, and during the last few years at least such talks have been given on Sundays. It may be assumed, therefore, that they have been found acceptable by a fairly wide audience. An examination of the talks themselves suggests, however, that there might be a more consistent effort to give what could be called "good" history, and to call more freely on the aid of the serious historian.

It must be admitted immediately that the professional historian is unlikely to have either the time or the capacity for the kind of popularization attempted. Such series as *Place Names*, *They Came to Canada*, *If You Had Lived Then*, and to a certain extent *Summer Fallow*, have drawn very largely on local colour, on historical anecdotes about well known people, and on diaries of explorers and others. The style may be that of a chatty narrator, the incident may be thrown into semi-fictional story form, or it may be dramatized. Many people, it is true, will not listen to historical lecturers, but will have their interest sufficiently aroused by light programmes with some historical flavour to be willing to read serious history. Most professional historians would readily admit that this type of work may be very useful, and may be better done by the journalist or popular speaker than by themselves. It is a fact that C.B.C. script writers have shown very creditable energy and enterprise in their exploitation of colourful and relatively unfamiliar material. On the other hand, it must be emphasized that indiscriminate plucking from the quaint and the picturesque will not, of itself, teach the Canadian people anything of their history, or give them any sense of oneness with each other or with their past. Popular talks should be so grouped as to give some idea of continuity; they should at least suggest some general ideas on the growth of the Canadian community; and where local colour is used it should be authentic to the last detail. A strong and reliable historical foundation need not injure but may greatly enhance the popular appeal of the human interest material that overlays it.

To produce acceptable programmes of this kind may be difficult but is surely not impossible. Defects in historical broadcasts could easily be remedied without deserting either the popular appeal or even the popular speaker. Expert advice might be sought. Both in Montreal and Toronto,



the centres where most of these talks originate, there are capable historians in complete sympathy with the need for popularization who could surely be induced not only to offer general advice when programmes are being planned but to cast an eye over the finished scripts in order to eliminate errors or faults of interpretation which might escape the notice of the amateur.

As a medium for the popularization of history the film is even more important and may be more dangerous than the radio. Canadian history has not been entirely neglected by makers of commercial films. Hollywood has done its worst, and the Canadian Mountie has taken his place in popular myth with Mary of Scotland and Marie-Antoinette. The National Film Board has produced some historical films, or rather films on contemporary problems with an historical background, and more are contemplated. Here, as with C.B.C. talks, much care is needed. Without discounting the importance of accuracy, the film man may distrust the historical expert because of a conviction that he will not understand or appreciate the problem of interesting the public. The danger of bad and inaccurate history from the film is, however, far greater than from the radio. Information from the film given mainly through pictures may be far more subtly and powerfully misleading than anything in a radio talk.

There is no doubt of the honesty and sincerity of most of the individuals engaged on these historical films; but it would be unfortunate if, in their preoccupation with technical matters or with dramatic effect, they should come unconsciously to share the attitude of the Hollywood producer who wished his Sir Galahad to pose in a toga. To the protests of his expert he merely replied, "But it's all history, isn't it?" If our national educational bodies were to treat history as a pleasant and adjustable backdrop for what should be said about the present, Canadian history could make little real contribution to the variety and richness of Canadian life.

#### IV.

It is difficult and dangerous to generalize in a field where very little exact information is available. It seems fair, however, to say that from the intellectual and philosophic viewpoint many Canadians are indifferent to any history, including and perhaps especially their own. A good deal of popular interest does go into local history; but here much energy and enthusiasm is lost because of the difficulty of bringing little groups scattered over the country to any consciousness of their common interest; and because of the added difficulty of giving coherence and continuity to those amateur efforts by the co-operation of the professional historian. The professional historian, operating almost exclusively within university walls

where he is overworked and underpraised, has produced a sound and creditable, if not distinguished volume of work, but he has produced it too exclusively for an academic public. He has not reached or touched the Canadian people.<sup>1</sup> Some of the reasons for this may be found in the handicaps already mentioned. The most important one has hardly been touched. With a few delightful and distinguished exceptions Canadian historians are extraordinarily dull writers. As has been suggested, they responded early in the century to the extreme doctrines of the pseudo-scientific school which in the interests of accuracy regarded style with suspicion and imagination with horror. These prejudices are now happily passing, but the literary tradition is hard to revive, especially as so many of our historians are formed in universities, Canadian or American, where English is not important except in "English" classes.

The general reader then is not likely to find scholarly works on Canadian history inviting or even digestible. And our popular agencies, the school, the radio, and the film, in spite of evidence of enthusiasm and goodwill, do not fill the gap between the historian and his public. Too often they are convinced that good history must be dull and unprofitable, and they act accordingly, distorting the past for purposes of propaganda or entertainment.

The conclusion then must be that we have as yet no national history, and no genuine national consciousness of the past. "Historical background" is popular, but is usually only a highly imaginative *décor* for productions on current problems. This immature contentment with living in the present and the future is partly the outcome of an age of scientific materialism. The true appeal of history is philosophic, moral and aesthetic; it is killed by purely scientific dissection. However, our problem in Canada is more than the general problem of the scientific age. It is, as we have seen, the special problem imposed by the fact that two races, two religions, and two cultures, led by a strange combination of circumstances, are trying to create one state out of some scattered fragments of fertile soil strung along the border of another state, wealthy, populous and expanding. The undertaking is barely out of the experimental stage. It is perhaps unreasonable at this juncture to reproach Canadians because they have not yet contrived to explain themselves to themselves. It might be more appropriate to recognize the good work and the excellent promise of the many who realize that no community can achieve maturity without a sane and intelligent awareness of its past.

<sup>1</sup>It must be remembered, of course, that much of this work is done outside Canada. Two leading workers in Canadian history today are Canadians, professors in American universities, writing and publishing in the United States.

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## L'HISTOIRE NATIONALE

CHARLES BILODEAU

**A**U Canada français, l'histoire est le genre littéraire qui a produit dans le passé les oeuvres les plus nombreuses et qui a peut-être exercé la plus grande influence. Ainsi ce fut Garneau qui imprima la première impulsion aux lettres canadiennes. Crémazie et Fréchette puisèrent dans le récit du passé une large part de leur inspiration. Cette influence de l'histoire s'est fait sentir à toutes les périodes du dernier siècle et elle continue d'agir de nos jours. Le but de la présente étude est de présenter un tableau d'ensemble de l'historiographie canadienne-française depuis une génération (1925-1950) et d'essayer d'en dégager les principaux traits.

### NOS HISTORIENS ET LEURS OEUVRES

Il convient d'abord de noter un trait caractéristique de notre histoire, c'est qu'elle a été écrite non seulement dans le but de raconter les faits du passé, mais aussi afin de contribuer à la survivance du peuple canadien-français. L'historien s'est servi de l'histoire pour y chercher une leçon: leçon de fertilité nationale, de fidélité aux principes pour lesquels les ancêtres ont tant combattu, de résistance aux attaques, conscientes ou non, contre leur nationalité. Sous la plume de nos auteurs, l'histoire enseigne à conserver le mode de vie française et catholique, donne des exemples de courage et de tenacité qui constituent toujours une inspiration. Le récit des faits passés ne suffit pas: il faut en dégager un enseignement, une doctrine d'action. "Notre maître le passé" est plus que le titre d'un livre, c'est une expression qui résume la thèse sous-jacente de l'historiographie canadienne-française. Nos historiens partagent le point de vue d'Henri Massis: "L'histoire n'est pas simplement une suite de faits qui se succèdent dans le temps; c'est une suite d'idées qui s'enchaînent au plus profond des âmes et leur communiquent un sens." Ce sont ces constantes qu'il importe de mettre en valeur, autant que les faits eux-mêmes.

Pour la majorité de nos historiens, l'histoire n'est donc pas seulement une science, mais aussi un art, une philosophie. "Historia magister vitae" diraient-ils avec Cicéron. Cette préoccupation pour d'autres fins que le récit impartial des faits passés nuira-t-elle à leur objectivité? La réponse variera évidemment selon le degré suivant lequel les historiens feront



entrer leur philosophie dans l'interprétation des faits. On peut dire qu'en général ils font preuve d'une grande honnêteté intellectuelle et gardent le plein respect de la vérité, même s'ils sont enclins à tenir les circonstances, plutôt que les hommes, toujours responsables des malheurs et des difficultés des Canadiens français.

Nos historiens ne sont pas du reste les seuls ni les premiers à écrire l'histoire d'après une certaine conception. Ne pourrait-on en dire autant de la plupart des historiens, v.g. Thierry, Michelet, Tocqueville, Bainville, Gibbons, Macaulay, Beard? Une remarque de Chapais concernant Garneau est à sa place ici:

"Les tenants rigoureux de la nouvelle école critique en histoire lui reprochent peut-être ce qui précisément constitue l'un des ses charmes les plus puissants auprès des compatriotes de l'auteur. Ils l'accuseront d'être avant tout une histoire patriotique. Or, suivant eux, le patriotisme n'a pas de place dans l'histoire. L'histoire est une science et rien d'autre. Entendons-nous là-dessus. L'histoire est une science, sans aucun doute. Elle doit se conformer aux données scientifiques, c'est-à-dire à la vérité établie et prouvée par les documents incontestables, par les autorités, par les sources. Mais ce devoir accompli, rien ne la condamne à être impassible. L'historien a un cœur et aucune loi ne l'oblige à empêcher ce cœur de battre. Il a une patrie, et cette patrie, à quel titre viendrait-on lui interdire de l'aimer de toutes les énergies de son âme? Sans doute le patriotisme ne doit pas suborner le jugement, ni fausser l'équité, ni supprimer l'impartialité, chez l'écrivain d'histoire. La justice et la vérité doivent être son inflexible loi. Mais sont-elles incompatibles avec l'amour de sa race et de son pays? Nous ne saurions l'admettre".<sup>1</sup>

Garneau fut le premier à concevoir l'histoire comme une source d'inspiration. Piqué par les railleries des ses associés anglais, qui ignoraient le passé des Canadiens français, il résolut d'en faire le récit. Son ouvrage est devenu un classique, l'un des rares dans notre littérature, et reste encore la meilleure vue d'ensemble que nous ayons de notre histoire. Garneau est considéré à juste titre comme notre historien national.

*L'Histoire du Canada* de Garneau eut trois éditions (1843, 1848, 1852) du vivant de l'auteur, d'autres en 1882, 1913, 1920, une septième en 1928 (Paris, Alcan, 2 vol.) et une huitième en 1944 (Montréal, Éditions de l'Arbre, 9 vols.) La popularité constante de l'oeuvre montre la haute estime dans laquelle on la tient et combien elle correspond à la mentalité des Canadiens français.

*L'Histoire* de Garneau est encore lue avec intérêt de nos jours. Le style est clair, alerte, vivant, marqué parfois du romantisme en vogue à l'époque. Au temps de Garneau, les archives étaient incomplètes, mal classifiées, peu accessibles. Néanmoins, il sut écrire un ouvrage bien

<sup>1</sup>Semaine d'Histoire du Canada, 1926, p. 29.

documenté, et ses erreurs, d'ordre secondaire, proviennent moins de l'insuffisance des archives de son temps que d'autres causes. Il fait généralement preuve d'objectivité, surtout dans l'étude du régime français.

En écrivant l'histoire, Garneau cherchait à donner confiance aux Canadiens français. Leur glorieux passé devait les remplir de fierté, les luttes victorieuses d'autrefois devaient leur faire espérer d'autres victoires. Les dernières lignes de son oeuvre reflètent bien sa pensée:

“Que les Canadiens soient fidèles à eux-mêmes; qu'ils soient sages et perévérants, qu'ils ne se laissent point séduire par le brillant des nouveautés sociales et politiques! Ils ne sont pas assez forts pour se donner carrière sur ce point. . . Pour nous, une partie de notre force vient de nos traditions; ne nous en éloignons ou ne les changeons que graduellement. . .”<sup>1</sup>

La survivance assurée par le respect du passé et la détermination des Canadiens français de rester fidèles à eux-mêmes résument donc la doctrine de Garneau. Cette conception, correspondant si bien à l'âme profonde de ses compatriotes, fut par la suite adoptée par les autres historiens et écrivains, et elle est encore acceptée aujourd'hui.

Chapais et Groulx sont les principaux historiens du dernier quart de siècle.

Comme le montre la citation ci-dessus de Chapais, celui-ci accepte la thèse fondamentale de Garneau, mais avec une certaine modification. Garneau écrivait à une époque où la crainte dominait ses compatriotes. Il voyait dans l'isolement, le manque de contacts, l'unique chance d'espoir pour les siens. Naturellement, Chapais accepte le motif de la survivance, mais il croit que le meilleur moyen de l'assurer est dans une saine coopération avec les Canadiens anglais et non dans l'isolement, dans l'adoption d'une politique semblable à celle que suivirent Cartier, Lafontaine et Laurier, qui permet d'exercer une influence positive. L'oeuvre de Chapais<sup>2</sup> a contribué à répandre ces vues, qui sont maintenant partagées par un grand nombre. La citation suivante montre combien les idées de Chapais se rapprochent de celles de Garneau;

“Que les Canadiens soient fidèles à eux-mêmes! Qu'ils soient fidèles à leurs origines grandes et saintes; qu'ils soient fidèles à la foi des aïeux; qu'ils soient fidèles aux traditions ancestrales; qu'ils soient fidèles à leur langue, et à leur culte; qu'ils soient fidèles à la mission glorieuse que la Providence les a appelés à remplir sur le continent nord-américain! Et l'avenir, qui, sans doute, leur réserve encore des épreuves et des luttes, verra, nous en avons le ferme

<sup>1</sup>*Histoire du Canada*, 8e édition, vol. 9, page 151.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Chapais (1859-1904): Jean Talon (1904), *Le Marquis de Montcalm* (1911), *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, 8 vol. (1919-1934), *Discours et conférences* (1898, 1905, 1913, 1943).

espoir, non seulement la perpétuité de leur survivance, mais l'accroissement et l'expansion toujours plus grande de leur vie nationale"<sup>1</sup>.

Toutefois, Chapais ne partage pas les jugements de Garneau sur l'Eglise, Mgr. de Laval, l'exclusion des Huguenots, la traite de l'eau-de-vie, etc.

Dans son oeuvre principale, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, en huit volumes, Chapais traite de la période 1759-1867, période fort délicate à traiter pour un auteur Canadien français, mais qu'il aborde avec une grande objectivité et un réel esprit scientifique. Il recourt à d'abondantes références qu'il cite souvent, il soumet les documents à une analyse serrée. Il a corrigé de nombreuses erreurs acceptées avant lui, ainsi au sujet de la politique coloniale française en 1759, la conduite de Murray, les causes de "l'Acte de Quebec". Son oeuvre est écrite sans hostilité contre la politique britannique, comme sans complaisance. Il sait replacer les événements dans leurs cadres et ne manque pas de blâmer ce qu'il juge devoir l'être, mais sans être tendancieux.

Le chanoine Lionel Groulx<sup>2</sup> envisage l'histoire d'une façon un peu différente de Garneau et de Chapais, tout en conservant la conception traditionnelle. Toutefois il insiste davantage sur l'état incessant de conflit qui marque toute l'histoire. Afin de triompher dans cette lutte pour la vie, les Canadiens français doivent avant tout avoir la fierté d'eux-mêmes, de leur race, de leur passé:

"La fierté fut bien, dans le passé tout proche, l'une des vertus qui nous ont le plus manqué, quand fort peu pourtant nous étions aussi nécessaires. Un peuple faible, par le nombre, peut se passer à la rigueur, de richesse et même d'art; il ne saurait se passer d'être fier. . . Pour être fiers, les jeunes n'ont besoin que de savoir ce qu'ils sont. Il n'appartient pas aux fils des grands Français qui ont bâti ce chef-d'oeuvre que fut la Nouvelle-France, de chercher ailleurs que chez eux, les raisons de leur dignité"<sup>3</sup>.

De semblables appels à la fierté nationale abondent dans l'oeuvre de Groulx. Il ne considère l'histoire ni comme "une science spéculative ni une discipline de dilettante. Essentiellement dynamique, elle ne saurait

<sup>1</sup>Semaine d'Histoire du Canada, 1926, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup>Lionel Groulx (né en 1880): *Cours d'histoire du Canada: nos luttes constitutionnelles* (1915-16); *La Confédération canadienne, ses origines* (1918), *La Naissance d'une Race* (1919), *Lendemain de Conquête* (1920), *Vers l'Emancipation* (1921); *L'enseignement français au Canada*, I, *Dans le Québec* (1932), II, *Les Ecoles des Minorités*, (1933), *La Découverte du Canada - Jacques-Cartier* (1934). Aussi, *Notre Maître le Passé* I, (1924), II, (1936), III, (1944), *L'Indépendance du Canada* (1950). *Orientations* (1935), *Directives* (1937), *L'Appel de la Race*, roman, 1922, *Chez nos Ancêtres* (1920), etc. En voie de publication: *Histoire du Canada français depuis sa Découverte* (4 vols.).

<sup>3</sup>*Notre Maître le Passé*, I, p. 9.



se passer d'inspirer, sinon de formuler, des disciplines d'action"<sup>1</sup>. "L'histoire ne conserve point le passé à l'état de matière inerte, stérilisée. Elle conserve et transmet de la vie; elle peut être un multiplicateur de forces. Par elle les vertus et les forces des vivants s'augmentent à chaque génération des forces et des vertus des morts"<sup>2</sup>.

Groulx écrit donc l'histoire avec un point de vue particulier, une philosophie définie. "Notre ambition et notre droit sont de l'écrire comme doivent le faire un catholique et un Canadien français"<sup>3</sup>. Il ne se contente pas de recourir aux seuls documents publics; il cherche à les éclairer par l'étude des notes ou des instructions secrètes ou par la psychologie des personnages, et le résultat peut choquer occasionnellement. Son oeuvre historique est solide et substantielle, même si son ardent patriotisme, son tempérament oratoire, sa tâche d'animateur et de chef intellectuel, risquent parfois de lui rendre la méthode scientifique difficile d'application. Du reste, l'auteur est en voie de publier une vaste synthèse de l'évolution du peuple canadien français, *Histoire du Canada français depuis sa découverte*, et c'est principalement sur cette oeuvre que la critique future le jugera. Le premier volume, déjà paru, laisse espérer une histoire de grande classe.

De nombreux autres auteurs ont publié des ouvrages d'histoire au cours de la période 1925-50. Mentionnons parmi les principaux:

Gustave Lanctôt, *Jacques-Cartier devant l'histoire* (1948), *Les Canadiens français et leurs voisins du sud*, (1941), *Faussetés et faussetés en histoire canadienne* (1948), Jean Bruchési, *Histoire du Canada pour tous* (1935), *Canada, Réalités d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (1949), Gérard Filteau, *Histoire des Patriotes* (1928), *Naissance d'une nation* (1937), Guy Frégault, *La civilisation de la Nouvelle-France* (1944), Antoine Bernard, *Histoire de la Survivance acadienne, 1755-1935* (1935), *L'Acadie vivante* (1945), Léon Gérin, *Aux sources de notre histoire* (1946), Arthur Maheux, *Ton histoire est une épopée* (1941), Marcel Hamel, *Le Rapport Durham* (1948), Noël Fauteux, *L'industrie au Canada sous le régime français* (1927), Benoît Brouillette, *La pénétration du continent américain par les Canadiens français, 1763-1846* (1939), Olivier Maurault, *Marges d'histoire* (3 vol.), Albert Tessier, *Ceux qui firent notre pays* (1936), *Canadiennes* (1946), Marcel Trudel, *Louis XVI, le Congrès américain et le Canada, 1774-1789*, (1949), Léo-Paul Desrosiers, *Iroquoisie* (1947), Robert Rumilly, *Histoire de la Province de Québec* (23 vol. 1940-44).

Parmi les biographies, signalons celles d'Iberville et de Bigot (Guy Frégault), Nelson et son temps (Wolfred Nelson) Jolliet (Alain Grand-

<sup>1</sup> *Directives*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Notre Maître le Passé*, I, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Préface, Vers l'Emancipation*.

bois et Ernest Gagnon), Jeanne Mance, Marguerite Bourgeoys (Dom Jamet), ouvrages d'une haute valeur, Mgr Laflèche, Mercier, Papineau (Rumilly).

Le Canada français ne possède pas de romans historiques qui ont obtenu une vogue comparable à celle de *The Golden Dog*, *Shadows on the Rock*, *Seas of the Mighty*, mais quelques auteurs ont abordé ce genre, non sans succès, v.g. L.P. Desrosiers, *Nord-Sud*, (1931), *Les Engagés du Grand Portage*, (1948), *Les Opiniâtres*, (1941), Robert de Roquebrune, *Les Habits Rouges*, (1922). Certains des romans historiques de Marmette, le pionnier du genre, écrits en 1870-1880, ont été récemment réimprimés, et *L'Oublié*, (1902) de Laure Conan est encore lu. Des auteurs ont aussi écrit des livres d'histoire spécialement destinés aux jeunes.

En somme, la publication d'ouvrages historiques a été abondante au cours du dernier quart de siècle, probablement plus que tout autre genre littéraire, et ceci malgré la dépression et la guerre. Chaque année a vu la parution d'une dizaine de livres d'histoire, sans compter les monographies locales et de nombreuses brochures.

Pour apprécier l'oeuvre des historiens de langue française, il n'est que juste de tenir compte des conditions difficiles dans lesquelles ils travaillent. Tous sont autodidactes, sauf deux ou trois jeunes. La lecture des grands auteurs a été leur seul apprentissage. Ce n'est qu'en 1945 que les Universités Laval et de Montréal ont établi des Instituts d'Histoire. Auparavant, chaque université possédait une chaire d'histoire du Canada, mais l'activité s'en limitait à des cours publics du soir. La plupart des historiens de langue anglaise sont professeurs de carrière dans une université, ils jouissent ainsi de revenus et de loisirs assurés. Les nôtres n'ont pas eu de tels avantages. De plus, sans fortune personnelle, ils doivent d'abord assurer la vie de leur famille et ne peuvent consacrer que leurs loisirs à leurs travaux. De même, ils ne peuvent voyager ou faire de longs séjours à des dépôts d'archives.

Malgré toutes ces difficultés, nos historiens réussissent en général à produire des ouvrages de réelle valeur scientifique, comme le montrent les recensions de la *Canadian Historical Review*. De plus en plus, ils se soumettent aux disciplines modernes de l'historiographie. La plupart font oeuvre originale, ils dépouillent les archives, n'affirment rien sans un document à l'appui, font la critique des sources et donnent leurs références. Les ouvrages de Thomas Chapais, Ivanhoé Caron, Marcel Trudel, entre autres, peuvent être cités en exemples.

Quant au caractère philosophique de notre historiographie, il peut être diversement apprécié, selon le sens donné à l'expression. Garneau avait donné l'exemple d'une histoire philosophique. De même, ses successeurs se sont rarement contentés d'exposer les faits; ils les ont jugés, ils ont

apprécié le caractère des personnages, ils ont essayé d'en dégager une leçon, Groulx notamment. Presque tous, implicitement ou explicitement, cherchent dans l'histoire des leçons pour l'avenir du peuple canadien français, tel que mentionné au début. Toutefois, les travaux des historiens portant plutôt sur des périodes ou des épisodes particuliers de l'histoire, ces sujets se prêtent mal à l'exposé d'une philosophie générale de l'histoire. Dans les récentes années, il ne s'est publié en français aucune histoire complète du Canada, dans le genre des ouvrages de Lower, Brown, Creighton, McInnis, Dorland, sauf peut-être les deux ouvrages de Jean Bruchési (*Histoire du Canada pour tous*, et *Canada, Réalités d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*). On ne peut que regretter cette pénurie de vues d'ensemble sur l'histoire.

La tendance de l'historiographie moderne de porter plus d'attention aux faits économiques et sociologiques n'a pas été généralement suivie par nos historiens, qui ont surtout écrit l'histoire politique et militaire. Garneau consacre un chapitre au commerce pendant le régime français, et quelques paragraphes au même sujet sous le régime anglais. Chapais et Groulx ignorent totalement la question économique dans leurs œuvres d'histoire. Cependant, quelques auteurs ont réuni des matériaux sur cet aspect: Frégault, *La civilisation de la Nouvelle-France*; Filteau, *Naissance d'une race*; Noël Fauteux, *L'industrie sous le régime français*; Ivanhoe Caron, *Histoire de la Colonisation de la province de Québec*.

Espérons de même que les historiens futurs tireront profit des études sociologiques qui ont débuté; avec Léon Gérin, Hughes Miner et Falardeau.

Cette omission du facteur économique en histoire conduit à des lacunes inévitables. Ainsi, la cause des guerres contre les Iroquois est attribuée au premier combat de Champlain contre eux; on ne tient pas compte de la rivalité entre Hurons et Iroquois concernant la traite des fourrures. De même, les causes économiques de la Confédération sont ignorées. Nos auteurs ont aussi tendance à considérer un gouvernement contrôlé par des Anglais comme une menace constante à la survivance des Canadiens français; aucun ne soupçonne l'avènement d'une société industrielle et urbaine, sous l'égide d'une collectivité indifférente à leur culture, comme étant un danger autrement plus grave.

Il est toutefois un domaine où les recherches ont été très actives: celui de l'histoire des arts et des lettres. Commencé avec Mgr Camille Roy (*Nos origines littéraires*, 1907), le travail a été continué par Antoine Roy (*Les Lettres, les Sciences et les Arts au Canada sous le régime français*, 1930), et par Séraphin Marion, à qui on doit six volumes sur les "*Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois*". L'ouvrage de Marcel Trudel, "*L'influence de Voltaire au Canada*" (1945) est une autre contribution d'importance.

Le principal artisan de l'histoire des arts est Gérard Morisset, direc-



teur de l'Inventaire des Oeuvres d'art, qui a su retracer, par ses recherches, un passé artistique resté ignoré trop longtemps. C'est la méconnaissance de ces richesses anciennes qui a été l'une des causes de la décadence des arts à la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle et au début du 20<sup>e</sup>.

Ces sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire que sont la petite histoire et le folklore ont aussi reçu une attention marquée au cours du dernier quart de siècle. Pierre-Georges Roy, archiviste de la province, (1922-41) a été un ouvrier infatigable; il a publié quelque 200 volumes. E.-Z. Massicotte a aussi recueilli d'abondants matériaux pour l'histoire.

Dans le champ du folklore, le Canada français est peut-être le pays où les recherches ont été le plus poussées au cours des récentes années. Marius Barbeau, du Musée national, a manifesté une activité rare: 20 livres, 500 articles, sans compter 12,000 chansons et 5,000 mélodies recueillies, soit plus que toutes les collections réunies de France. Une chaire de folklore a été instituée à l'Université Laval en 1944 et une revue semestrielle, de belle tenue, publiée. Nos historiens, s'étant attachés plutôt à l'histoire politique, ont négligé de parler de la vie privée du peuple, de ses idées, sentiments et moeurs, omission qui nuit à la pleine compréhension de l'histoire. Les recherches entreprises ne projeteront peut-être pas sur l'histoire toutes les clartés que nous promettent les folkloristes dans leur enthousiasme de pionniers, mais elles aideront à une meilleure connaissance de la civilisation française et de la vie populaire traditionnelle.

Il faut signaler aussi la publication de plusieurs monographies locales et de nombreux livres d'histoire religieuse. Un grand nombre de paroisses possèdent maintenant leur monographie. Tous ces ouvrages apportent des matériaux à l'histoire générale du pays et à celle de l'expansion de la civilisation chrétienne en Amérique.

Un autre champ d'activité a été celui de la généalogie. Grâce aux registres d'état civil, il est possible à toute famille canadienne-française de retracer la lignée de ses ancêtres. Les travaux de Mgr Tanguay ont été continués par des chercheurs compétents et patients. Une société de généalogie a été fondée et elle publie une revue semestrielle. Une entreprise commerciale, unique au monde, qui a recueilli soixante millions d'actes d'état civil, permet même à tout Canadien français de posséder sa généalogie, complétée par des notes historiques.

Il y a lieu de mentionner ici un genre de littérature qui se rattache à l'histoire, particulièrement à sa philosophie, et qui n'a guère de parallèle au Canada anglais, il s'agit d'ouvrages traitant de problèmes nationaux et de survivance, tels les suivants: Esdras Minville: *Invitation à l'étude; le Citoyen canadien-français*; Richard d'Arès: *Notre question nationale*; François Hertel: *Nous ferons l'avenir*; Groulx: *Orientations, Directives*; Montpetit: *D'Azur à trois lys d'or*; Bastien: *Conditions de notre destin*

*national*; Minville, Barbeau, Groulx: *L'Avenir de notre bourgeoisie*; Barbeau: *Pour nous grandir*; etc., etc. Aussi une revue mensuelle, *L'Action Nationale*.

Ces divers ouvrages sont peut-être plus lus et exercent plus d'influence que les livres d'histoire. Qui voudrait faire l'étude de la mentalité canadienne-française devrait se livrer à un examen approfondi de ces écrits. Qu'il suffise de dire qu'ils reflètent les préoccupations des auteurs sur la survivance, ils prêchent la fidélité aux traditions françaises, indiquent les moyens de vaincre les obstacles, fournissent une doctrine d'action nationale, renforcent les conclusions inspirées de l'histoire.

En parcourant tous ces ouvrages, on est frappé par la cloison presque étanche qui sépare les historiens des deux langues. L'histoire du Canada est sensiblement différente par l'esprit, la présentation, et même les faits, selon la langue de l'auteur. Les livres en français portent bien le titre d'histoire du Canada, mais ils se bornent presque tous à la province de Québec. Tel qu'indiqué plus haut, il n'existe pas, en français, d'histoire du Canada publiée depuis quinze à vingt ans et utilisant les recherches modernes.

D'autre part, les auteurs de langue anglaise s'en tiennent surtout à la période anglaise, sauf deux ou trois exceptions. La *Canadian Historical Review* contient rarement des articles en français, et les collaborateurs anglais au *Bulletin des Recherches historiques* sont non moins rares. A la Société Royale, les historiens appartiennent à deux sections différentes, selon la langue. Une telle division ne peut contribuer à faire de l'histoire une source d'unité nationale. Il y a pourtant tant de sujets qui gagneraient à être traités à la fois par les historiens des deux langues.

Il faut ajouter aussi que nos historiens, tant anglais que français, semblent allergiques dans leurs écrits à toute histoire autre que celle du Canada. Très rares sont leurs études qui traitent d'un sujet d'histoire européenne ou universelle.

Le cloisonnement qui existe entre les ouvrages français et anglais pour adultes se retrouve aussi au niveau scolaire. La question a même été l'objet d'une étude il y a quelques années par un comité de l'Association Canadienne d'Education<sup>1</sup>, dont l'auteur était membre.

Au cours de l'examen des divers manuels utilisés dans les écoles du pays, on constata des différences marquées dans les faits présentés, de même que dans l'esprit de chaque série de manuels. Ainsi, des faits longuement exposés dans les manuels en langue française sont très brièvement mentionnés dans les manuels anglais ou même sont omis, v.g. la fondation de Montréal, les grands explorateurs, les exploits de Dollard et d'Iberville, les batailles de Carillon, Ste-Foy, Châteauguay, l'histoire des

<sup>1</sup>Rapport du Comité des Manuels d'Histoire du Canada (Association Canadienne d'Education, Toronto, 1946).

luttons constitutionnelles des Canadiens français de 1791 à 1836, etc. Pour plusieurs auteurs, la conquête fut favorablement accueillie par les vaincus. Aucun manuel anglais ne mentionne que le français est langue officielle à Ottawa. La question des écoles séparées, la contribution des Canadiens français au développement de la démocratie au Canada, sont loin de recevoir l'attention qu'elles méritent.

De leur côté, les manuels français en général passent rapidement sur l'histoire de la Baie d'Hudson, les grands explorateurs anglais, les Loyalistes, le développement économique du pays, la politique fédérale, etc. Les deux séries négligent l'aspect social et culturel de l'évolution du peuple canadien; les débuts et les progrès de la littérature et des beaux-arts y sont souvent passés sous silence.

On s'attend à des différences entre les manuels de chaque langue, mais il semble que la disparité ait été trop prononcée. Dans l'ensemble, les manuels français se restreignent trop à la province de Québec et négligent l'histoire du Canada anglais, et réciproquement. On ne saurait reprocher à ces manuels de chercher à susciter de l'antipathie entre les races, mais ils tendent à réduire la part jouée par les citoyens de l'autre langue dans le développement du pays.

Quels peuvent être les effets de toutes ces différences dans l'enseignement de l'histoire? Une réponse précise est évidemment impossible, vu que ce n'est là qu'un facteur entre plusieurs. On a soutenu que ce ne sont pas les divisions anciennes qui contribuent à la faiblesse de l'unité nationale, mais les injustices actuelles. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'attitude des adultes devant les problèmes raciaux se ressent grandement des impressions reçues durant la jeunesse et l'injustice résulte souvent de la méconnaissance des droits et des coutumes. Les reproches d'ignorance mutuelle entre les deux principaux groupes canadiens peuvent ainsi avoir leur origine à l'école. Si les Canadiens anglais ignorent parfois l'histoire de leurs compatriotes, les droits de la langue française, les droits scolaires des minorités, on n'en est pas surpris après la lecture des manuels anglais d'histoire.

Lors d'une enquête faite par la section de Montréal de la Fédération Nationale des Universitaires catholiques, on posa aux étudiants la question suivante: "L'enseignement actuel de l'histoire du Canada tend-il à former de vrais Canadiens?" Il est significatif que la majorité (70%) répondit: NON<sup>1</sup>.

Il est agréable toutefois de signaler les progrès récemment accomplis dans ce domaine par quelques nouveaux manuels<sup>2</sup>. Ces livres sont à

<sup>1</sup>L'Action Universitaire, mai 1945.

<sup>2</sup>V.g. Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation* (Dent, 1945); Chafe et Lower, *Canada, A Nation* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1948); Brown, Harman et Jeanneret, *The Story of Canada* (Copp Clarke Co., 1949); Chafe, *Canada, Your Country* (Ryerson Press, 1950); Dickie, *The Great Adventure* (Dent, 1950).



l'abri des reproches adressés à certains de leurs devanciers et ils marquent le début d'une ère nouvelle dans l'enseignement de l'histoire du Canada. Il y a tout lieu de croire qu'un progrès parallèle se manifesterà dans les nouveaux manuels en langue française, actuellement en préparation.

La majorité des citoyens acquièrent leurs connaissances historiques à l'école et ne liront pas d'autres livres d'histoire du Canada que leurs manuels. Il importe donc que ces livres donnent une idée juste et complète du passé, qu'ils s'efforcent d'inspirer aux jeunes une légitime fierté de leur pays et contribuent à la formation d'un sentiment national.

#### AUTRES SOURCES DE CONNAISSANCES D'HISTOIRE

Les oeuvres des historiens ne constituent pas les seules sources de connaissances d'histoire; il y a aussi les archives, les musées, la radio, les films, les sociétés historiques.

Les archives de la province ont été organisées en bureau en 1921 et elles occupent maintenant un étage du Musée provincial à Québec. Depuis sa fondation, le bureau a accompli une besogne immense, sous la direction de Pierre-Georges Roy, et maintenant sous celle de son fils, Antoine. Soixante-quatre volumes d'inventaire ont été publiés, sans compter les rapports annuels, le *Bulletin des Recherches historiques* (mensuel) et les ouvrages de P.-G. Roy. Les principales collections ont été analysées, classifiées et indexées. On est à dépouiller actuellement les greffes des notaires du régime français et on a déjà publié 48 répertoires sur un total possible de 400. Il y a aussi des archives importantes, ouvertes aux chercheurs, dans les évêchés de Québec et de Montréal, au Séminaire de Québec, et dans les 28 districts judiciaires de la province. Les archives du Palais de Justice de Montréal ont été soigneusement classifiées par E. Z. Massicotte.

Les musées constituent une autre source précieuse de connaissances d'histoire. La *Canadian Historical Review* (1940, p. 294) donne une liste de 31 musées dans la province de Québec, basée sur les rapports des conservateurs, mais en fait le nombre actuel est moins imposant.

La section d'histoire du Musée provincial à Québec est rattachée aux Archives et contient surtout des pièces manuscrites. Plus de 100,000 personnes visitent le Musée chaque année, attirées par les belles collections de peinture et de sciences naturelles, et presque tous les visiteurs s'arrêtent aux exhibits d'archives.

A Montréal, au Château Ramezay, l'ancienne demeure des gouverneurs, on trouve des meubles et objets de l'époque. Les forts *Chambly* et *Lennox* relèvent de la Commission des Sites historiques. La *Maison Laurier*, à Arthabaska, contient des meubles et objets ayant appartenu à l'homme d'Etat. Ce sont là, en fait, tous les musées, soit cinq, ouverts au public. Toutefois, les chercheurs sont admis aux petits musées

(privés) du couvent des Ursulines, de l'Hôtel-Dieu et de l'Hôpital Général à Québec et aux collections de certains collèges.

Et les vieux édifices. Des 116 églises élevées avant 1760, 17 demeurent debout, et elles ont toutes été plus ou moins restaurées et modifiées. Il reste quelques maisons d'avant 1750, en particulier sur l'Île d'Orléans et la Côte Beaupré, mais chaque année voit des démolitions ou des incendies. Le vieux Montréal est presque entièrement disparu. Du vieux Québec, il reste davantage, mais pas suffisamment. Il est étonnant comme peu de choses des 17<sup>e</sup> et 18<sup>e</sup> siècles ont été conservées.

En 1922, le gouvernement de la province établissait une Commission des Monuments historiques. L'inventaire entrepris par cette Commission s'est traduit par trois volumes: "*Monuments commémoratifs de la province de Québec*" (1923); "*Vieilles églises de la province de Québec, 1647-1800*" (1925); "*Vieux manoirs, vieilles maisons*", (1927). A l'heure actuelle, la Commission contribue dans la mesure de ses ressources à la réparation de vieilles églises ou maisons classées comme monuments historiques, ainsi qu'à la pose de plaques.

Pour plusieurs, les souvenirs du passé n'ont pas de signification; aussi disparaissent-ils peu à peu, jetés, dispersés, incendiés, vendus aux Américains, qui en enrichissent leurs collections. Une société de préservation, comme il en existe ailleurs, rendrait de grands services. Il importe de rassembler et de conserver les reliques du passé, d'éduquer l'opinion publique à ce propos. Aux seules fins touristiques, un site historique, un musée sont un actif précieux. Peut-être le désir d'attirer des touristes, à défaut du respect du passé, suscitera-t-il de louables initiatives.

Dans le domaine de la radio, Radio-Collège a consacré à chaque saison, depuis son début, un programme hebdomadaire à l'histoire du Canada: causeries ou sketches préparés sous la direction d'un éminent historien. Depuis l'automne 1949, quinze postes privés présentent une causerie hebdomadaire du chanoine Lionel Groulx sur l'histoire du Canada français.

Quant au film, on peut dire que le film d'histoire du Canada est inexistant. L'écolier américain a à sa disposition de nombreux films en 16 mm. reconstituant un épisode de l'histoire de son pays, le jeune Canadien n'a pas cette chance. La reconstitution d'un épisode historique, avec acteurs et scènes, dépasse peut-être les ressources de nos organismes de production cinématographique, mais certains sujets qui peuvent se traiter par la technique de l'animation ou par des vues fixes, seraient peu coûteux, v.g. les explorations, l'expansion de la colonisation et des communications, la délimitation des frontières, les plans des guerres et des batailles d'autrefois, le rôle de la géographie dans l'histoire, etc.

Les sociétés historiques représentent une autre forme d'intérêt à l'histoire. Il y a maintenant une quinzaine de ces sociétés dans les principales régions de la province; la plus ancienne, celle de Montréal, a été fondée en 1858 et compte 150 membres. Depuis l'an dernier, ces sociétés se sont fédérées, sous l'égide de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Université de Montréal, ce qui ne saurait manquer de leur donner un regain de vie.

Ces diverses associations influencent leur milieu par la publication d'articles et de brochures, par des émissions radiophoniques, des conférences publiques, des manifestations patriotiques et commémoratives l'entretien des sites historiques, des centenaires, des concours d'histoire dans les écoles, etc. Certaines sociétés ont des publications remarquables, notamment la Société historique de Montréal et Les Dix, un groupe d'historiens de réputation qui publie chaque année, depuis treize ans, un *Cahier de leurs travaux*.

Le nombre de membres de toutes ces sociétés demeure assez restreint: environ mille. Une participation plus nombreuse serait désirable, mais d'autre part le zèle des membres supplée à leur petit nombre.

En conclusion, on peut dire que l'historiographie au Canada français a accompli de notables progrès au cours du dernier quart de siècle. Les ouvrages d'histoire ont été relativement nombreux et les auteurs ont eu davantage recours aux méthodes scientifiques modernes. Ces progrès sont d'autant plus remarquables vu les difficultés particulières au pays: faible population, élite restreinte, formation purement personnelle des historiens et leur manque de ressources.

L'évènement le plus intéressant peut-être durant cette période a été la fondation des instituts d'histoire dans nos deux universités, et celle d'une revue, la *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française*, qui a déjà su s'imposer par la valeur de ses articles. A l'avenir, ces deux centres universitaires contribueront au recrutement et à la formation des historiens, ils faciliteront les contacts et relèveront les standards.

Le public a continué de porter à l'histoire un intérêt particulier, même si celui-ci aurait pu être encore plus prononcé. Depuis 1920, *l'Histoire* de Garneau a connu trois éditions. *L'Histoire du Canada pour tous*, de Bruchési, a été tirée à 14,000 exemplaires, tandis que *Canada, Réalités d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, du même auteur, a obtenu une vente de 10,000 copies en moins d'un an, sans compter une édition anglaise. (Observons qu'un tirage de 5,000 pour une population de trois millions équivaut à un tirage de 15,000 au Canada anglais et à plus de 200,000 aux Etats-Unis). La publication de *l'Histoire de la province de Québec* par Rumilly en 23 volumes (1940-44) n'aurait pas été possible sans un nombre suffisant de lecteurs. Mentionnons les vives polémiques autour de certaines questions d'histoire, les causeries radiophoniques très



écoutées du chanoine Groulx, le réveil folklorique, la fondation de la Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise, tous ces faits et d'autres encore témoignent du vif intérêt que les Canadiens français portent à leur histoire.

Les nôtres sont naturellement plus portés que leurs concitoyens de langue anglaise à aller puiser dans le passé une inspiration nécessaire, une conscience plus aigüe de leur personnalité nationale. Dans nos écoles, l'histoire du Canada est au programme de chaque année du cours, comparativement à trois ou quatre ans pour les écoles anglaises. On ne pourrait plus répéter aujourd'hui avec Fréchette que l'histoire est "un écrin de perles ignorées". Il reste aux historiens la tâche difficile d'exploiter pleinement cet intérêt pour le passé. De patients chercheurs ont réuni d'abondants matériaux, dont la synthèse s'impose maintenant. L'écrivain qui produirait une oeuvre du genre de "*The Epic of America*" d'Adams connaîtrait le plus grand succès. Les conditions où vivent les historiens de langue française expliquent peut-être l'absence d'une histoire générale et récente du Canada, mais c'est là une lacune qui ne saurait tarder à être comblée. Les historiens de langue française sauront contribuer, comme par le passé, à la survivance de leurs compatriotes et à la vitalité de la conscience nationale.

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## CANADIAN ARCHIVES

C. P. STACEY

### I. SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

THIS brief paper cannot claim to be a complete examination of the problems of Archives in Canada. Such an examination would require more time and space than have been available for the present study. What it attempts to do is to present a short survey of the salient points of the subject as they appear to one who has had some experience of these problems in two capacities: as an historian who is a "user" of archives, and as an officer concerned with the problem of records administration in a Government Department.

The paper describes, however imperfectly, the past and present functions performed by the Public Archives of Canada. It proceeds to call attention to what appear to be the chief problems of national archives policy in Canada today, and to offer some comments upon them. The question of the administration of the public records is given special attention. Space is not available for consideration of provincial and local archives.

The opinions expressed in this paper are tentative and personal. They are presented as suggestions, not necessarily as solutions. They would certainly not command the concurrence of all archivists or all historians. Neither, however, would any other set of opinions on the subject.

### II. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

The Public Archives of Canada was organized in 1872, and occupied the first wing of the existing building early in the present century. The functions of the Public Archives as it has developed during these seventy-eight years may best be summarized in terms of the principal groups which the Archives serves:—the Departments of Government; the historical scholars; and the general public. These may be dealt with in this order.

#### (a) Work for the Departments of Government.

The Archives serves the Departments of the Canadian Government by providing them with historical information and answers to inquiries. Where early records of individual Departments are held by the Archives, the

Archives staff assist either by making the records available to official investigators and by assisting such investigators to use them, or by carrying out the necessary research themselves.

This is an essential function; but as only a small proportion of public business requires consultation of "obsolete" records, and as many Departments have made no important transfers of records to the Archives in recent years, this work on behalf of the Government is probably the smallest of the Archives' functions at the moment. It will grow with time and with the development of records policy.

(b) Work for Historical Scholars.

The Archives has made a vital contribution to the development of Canadian historical scholarship and literature—and through them to Canadian cultural life and the growth of Canadian national spirit. Historical research and writing have made great strides in Canada during the past half-century; and this achievement would not have been nearly so great had it not been for the Public Archives. It is not merely that the Archives has made easily available to investigators an unequalled collection of source material relating to Canada during the nineteenth and earlier centuries; because this collection has served as a magnet, the Archives building has been a gathering-place for historians and a clearing-house for historical ideas. This was particularly the case during the years between the two World Wars.

The Archives has also assisted scholars by undertaking research in answer to the inquiries of those unable to visit Ottawa; and it has made the materials of Canadian history much more widely available by a programme of publication which has put many important documents into print. This programme has languished in recent years, and it is pleasant to learn that it is to be revived.

All told, the Public Archives now has behind it a distinguished record of service to historical scholarship. If future achievements are to equal those of the past, however, an active and vigilant policy is essential. The chief requirements are a forward-looking programme on the general administration of government records and a proper regard for the needs of the Archives in terms of physical accommodation and staff.

(c) Work for the General Public.

In the last analysis, all the work of the Archives is work for the public; but the institution has certain direct contacts with ordinary Canadian citizens and certain tasks to perform for them.

One of these contacts takes the form of answers to miscellaneous historical inquiries. This may not be considered a task of primary import-



ance; but it is a large task and one that must be done, and which requires a considerable and competent staff if it is to be satisfactorily discharged.

Another service to the public is the popular visual presentation of Canadian history, represented in the maintenance of an historical museum, to which one wing of the ground floor of the Archives building is devoted. Some scholars have sneered at this museum side of the Archives. I have no sympathy with this attitude. The institution has served as a treasure-house of our history for the general public at a time when no other body or department was prepared to assume the task. This visual presentation of history is an important function and one which should be developed and encouraged rather than the reverse.

It is obvious, however, that this museum function is not necessarily an Archives function, or even one that can be most appropriately performed by the Archives. If it is divorced from the Archives, however, it must clearly be transferred to some other authority—some authority that can perform it not worse but better, and on a larger scale. If the museum section of the Archives were amalgamated with the Canadian War Museum, given charge of the official paintings of the two World Wars now in storage at the National Gallery, and provided with proper accommodation, we would have an institution—a National Museum of Canadian History—which would be of great national importance.

### III. PROBLEMS OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES TODAY

#### General.

In recent years historians have shown some concern over the state of the Public Archives and more particularly over its future policy and development. This concern is reflected in an editorial note in the *Canadian Historical Review* for March 1949. The writer, commenting on the appointment of Dr. W. Kaye Lamb as Archivist, writes: "There are indeed pressing problems for Dr. Lamb to consider in respect to the Archives. This institution is designed not merely as a historical museum for ancient manuscripts but also as the Public Records Office of Canada. It has, however, never functioned as such for the period since Confederation. Now it must collect official government material for this period and for the present day, while it is still available, both for reference purpose and for future historical research . . . ."

This comment is somewhat exaggerated, for the Archives does contain many public records for "the period since Confederation". In the case of the Department of National Defence, for example, all its files of dates earlier than 1903 were transferred to the Archives many years ago (those not sent earlier were transferred in 1919); and the operational records

of the First World War were transferred in 1947. These in themselves are a far from unimportant body of public records. It must be admitted, however, that this is a rather exceptional case, and that the Archives' manuscript collections generally are very much more complete for the pre-Confederation period than they are for the past eighty years. The *Canadian Historical Review* has undoubtedly put its finger on the main problem of Archives policy today. The Canadian Historical Association has similarly called attention to the question in its brief addressed to the present Royal Commission.

During the war years the Public Archives suffered severely. Its appropriations were severely reduced, some members of the staff entered the armed forces and activity in general (including publication) was reduced to a minimum. The institution thus emerged from the war in weakened condition. At the same time, the problem of government records had become more pressing than ever before. Every great war produces a vast increase in such records. In this case, apart from a great expansion in the files of continuing departments, new temporary departments, operating on an enormous scale, came into existence, and they have left behind them masses of paper proportioned to the scale of their operations. The general activities of the departments in Ottawa are much larger today than before the war, and henceforth the records of the government will increase faster than at any previous period in peacetime. To deal adequately with the records already accumulated, and to keep abreast of the situation as it continues to develop, the Archives clearly requires additional accommodation and additional staff. This is the most urgent aspect of the matter; without these additional facilities for the Archives, it would seem that an adequate and progressive system for the administration of public records, such as is overdue, cannot be introduced.

This reform in the administration of public records—which involves in particular what the Canadian Historical Association terms “greater attention . . . to the systematic transfer of records from the various departments of Government to the Archives”—is the crux of the problem. This question of transfer is discussed in a separate section below.

### Categories of Records Held.

It is in order here to discuss the various categories of records which are now held in the Archives, and the extent to which the existing arrangements in this respect are sound.

The Archives holds a very wide variety of records. The following are the chief categories:

- (a) Public Records proper. (Records of the government departments of Canada, and of the individual provinces before

Confederation. Transcripts of British and French governmental records relating to Canada. Records of the British armed services in Canada. Etc.

- (b) Personal Papers. (The papers of various Canadian Ministers of the Crown—e.g., Sir John A. Macdonald—and of other individuals of varying importance, covering a very wide range in dates.)
- (c) Miscellaneous Records. (Various minor manuscript items not falling into either of the foregoing categories.)
- (d) Maps. (A very large and useful collection of miscellaneous maps and plans, including many properly falling into the category of public records.)
- (e) Pictorial Records. (A large collection of historical pictures, of many types, some of which are displayed in the museum wing.)
- (f) Printed Books. A relatively small library of printed books, chiefly useful for reference by readers working in the Manuscript Room, but including also many rare items.)
- (g) Newspapers. (A considerable collection of early Canadian newspapers.)

It is clear that the Archives' holdings might be described as heterogeneous. It would be possible to criticize the policy that has been pursued and to argue that the Archives should hold only public records in the narrow sense, leaving to other institutions the other categories of historical material listed above. Such criticism would not, I feel, be realistic. To draw such a distinction would be both expensive for the taxpayer (for it would involve the maintenance of at least two institutions to do the work now done by one) and inconvenient for historical scholars.

I feel certain that the policy which has been pursued so far is, in general, wise. It is based on the sound principle of bringing together in one place, so far as may be, all the records (particularly the manuscript records) valuable for the reconstruction of Canada's past on the national level. This has greatly facilitated the work of historians. My recommendation would be that no countenance be given to the suggestion sometimes heard that a new institution, a Public Records Office, be set up to function alongside the Archives. The Archives is in fact already a Public Records Office, although its operation as such has so far been halting and imperfect. What is required—to quote the Canadian Historical Association brief again—is to “strengthen” the Archives “in order that it may better fulfil its functions as the repository for the national records of Canada”.

In this connection, it has been suggested that it might be well to



change the name of the existing institution from Public Archives to Public Records Office. The point is a small one, but my own preference would be for retaining the old designation, which has a long and honourable history behind it.

As mentioned above, the Archives possesses large collections of transcripts of British and French governmental records relating to Canada. These are still being expanded, and the Archives maintains small staffs in London and Paris. This is important work and requires to be continued. Dr. Lamb is arranging to place it on a more efficient basis by substituting microphotography for the old-fashioned technique of hand-copying. This is a most desirable reform.

#### The Public Archives and the National Library.

The question of the categories of records held by the Archives leads naturally to another question—that of the relationship of the Archives to the proposed National Library.

It was a source of deep satisfaction to scholars when it was announced at the appointment of the present Archivist that he would have in addition to his ordinary duties the responsibility of “preparing the way for the establishment of a National Library”. Arrangements have already been made under his direction to organize a Bibliographical Centre which will survey the book resources of Canada and prepare something like a national union catalogue. This is the first step towards the Library—a definite if not a very long one. The sooner the institution can be brought into actual existence, the better for the cultural life of the country.

The proper basic distinction between the task of the existing Archives and that of the future Library seems obvious. The Library’s appropriate function will be to hold printed books, that of the Archives is to hold manuscripts. This is a very broad definition which will require qualification in some particulars, but as a generalization it is surely sound.

The disposition to be made of some of the categories of records listed above will require careful consideration. Maps should clearly remain with the Archives; many of them, as noted above, are in fact public records. Newspapers might well be concentrated in the Library, the Archives’ collection being transferred thither. Pictorial Records might go to either place; but as the demand for them will perhaps be more from the general public (including journalists, etc.) than from scholars, and the Library will be much more concerned with the general public than the Archives, whose clientele will continue to be mainly historical specialists, a case could be made for transferring them to the Library. My own recent experience has led me to feel that pictorial records are very important (particularly in relation to popular interest in history); and I hope this category of records will receive proper attention.

As a matter of assistance to scholars, I consider that the Archives' working library of printed books should remain there. In practice, the proximity of this library to the manuscript room has been a great boon to investigators working on the manuscripts, who require to make incidental reference to many printed books. Many of these investigators can visit Ottawa only for short periods, and to enable them to work to the best advantage it is desirable that a collection of the most important printed sources should be reserved for their use.

So far as physical location is concerned, it is clear that there would be some advantages in placing the National Library in as close proximity to the Archives as possible.

I should presumably refer also to the question of the relationship of the direction of the National Library to that of the Archives. I can only express a very personal view. I think it will not be practicable to combine the headship of the two institutions permanently in one man. To attempt to do so would be unfair both to the institutions and to the individual.

The Public Archives, when properly conducted, has always been a full-time responsibility for an eminent and able public servant. This is now more the case than ever. As I have indicated above, the Archives problem today is larger and more urgent than at any previous time. The Archives requires expansion, and the administration of the public records requires improvement. These matters should have the undivided attention of the Archivist. On the other hand, the National Library when it comes into existence will be an institution of equal importance and equally in need of such attention. Charting the course of this great enterprise will be in itself a task for the ablest official whose services the Government can command. The country is fortunate that the present Archivist combines in a special degree the qualifications of archivist and librarian, but this happy fact should not be permitted to result in an organic union of the two institutions except in the Library's earliest phase of development. It would not, however, be desirable to attempt to set up the Librarianship as a separate appointment at the present time.

#### The Accommodation Problem.

I have already mentioned the Archives' problem of physical accommodation. This is most serious and urgent. An extension of fireproof accommodation is an essential prerequisite to the implementation of a progressive public records policy. At the present time the Archives has large groups of papers in unsafe outside buildings. The new Archivist, who in this as in other respects has attacked his task with notable skill and energy, has reorganized the allotment of space in the existing Archives building on Sussex Street so as to accommodate a larger body

of manuscripts, but this can only be a palliative measure. In many places in the Ottawa area there are large accumulations of departmental records which ought to be transferred to the Archives but which the latter simply cannot accept for want of space. Many of these papers, being stored in premises which are not fireproof, are exposed to serious risks of destruction. Among them are important parts of the record of the national effort in the Second World War.

Plans actually exist for a large new wing for the Archives, to be constructed in front of the present building, close to Sussex Street and utilizing part of the site of the present War Museum. These particular plans may not be the best solution. It is clear, however, that a large addition is required at once. It seems to me practicable to enlarge the building on its present site to any extent that may be required for a very considerable time to come.

The urgency of this problem seems to require no underlining.

#### The Staff Problem.

Scarcely less urgent than the question of accommodation is that of staff. As already noted, the war had a bad influence in this respect. There has now been some improvement. Vacancies have been filled, and for every position advertised during the past couple of years there have been numerous well-qualified applicants. However, the Archives' establishment has not been materially increased. It would appear that such an increase, and the recruitment of an enlarged group of able young scholars, are very important if the Archives is to be equal to the enlarged responsibilities which the institution must now take up. Present-day conditions, the results of recent Civil Service competitions, seem to indicate, are particularly favourable for obtaining the services of young men and women of the type required.

#### IV. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS

The foregoing has made it clear that the basic problem today is that of developing what may be called the Public Records Office aspect of the Public Archives. Even in so brief a paper as this, accordingly, this problem must be examined in some slight detail.

#### Background.

It is of interest that in 1912 a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the question of the public records of Canada. It reported in 1914.<sup>1</sup> It had found the records in a deplorable state, and it prefaced its

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the State of the Records of the Public Departments of the Dominion of Canada (Ottawa, 1914).



recommendations with the remark, "Some better plan than the present policy of drift must be devised if the public records are to be rescued from their present unsatisfactory condition." It proceeded to recommend "the creation of a Public Record Office, by the enlargement of the present Archives building". The policy suggested was that "all records, books, papers, plans, etc., over twenty-five years old (or of more recent date, at the request of the department concerned), shall be transferred to the said Public Record Office" and there examined "under the supervision of a special permanent commission to be appointed for that purpose". Documents of historical importance were to be permanently preserved; other documents would be destroyed, in no case however without the authority of the Treasury Board.

These recommendations were specifically approved by the Government (by P.C. 1163 of May 4, 1914); but the outbreak of the First World War prevented immediate action. Although the Archives building was enlarged in 1925-26 it was still too small for the task which the Royal Commission had outlined. In fact, the systematic transfer and screening of public records which it recommended has never been initiated; and it can be said that, thirty-six years after the Commission reported, the language of its report is still in part applicable to the state of the public records of Canada, and its recommendations, in gross if not in detail, are still sound and still await implementation.

### The Problem in General

At the risk of explaining the obvious, it seems desirable to begin by defining the public records problem of today in the broadest and simplest terms.

Modern governmental records are so enormous in bulk that it would be out of the question to preserve *all* of them indefinitely. It follows that an efficient public records policy must do two difficult things: it must ensure that records of no permanent value are not preserved after their temporary usefulness is past; and (even more important) it must ensure that records which do possess permanent value are preserved and are kept available for governmental purposes and for the use of historians. In other words, provision is required for a comprehensive screening process. If this process is to have the desired result, it must be carried on on a large scale and must be supervised by experts. Some form of permanent machinery is required.

Another elementary and useful distinction may be kept in mind. Those governmental files and other records which have ceased to be regularly consulted in the day-to-day work of a department may be useful in either of two ways:

- (a) They may be required for occasional consultation in connection with the technical business of the department;
- (b) They may be of permanent value as sources for the history of Canada.

It will sometimes happen that a file of transitory technical importance is also of permanent historical value. More frequently, however, the importance of the file will wholly end when its technical interest is out-moded. In any Department at any given time, Class (a) will be a considerably larger group than Class (b); and a proportion of files in Class (a) will continually be becoming completely obsolete for departmental purposes, and thus becoming available either for destruction or (where they merit it) for preservation for historical purposes.

It is apparent that the only authority that can decide effectively whether a file is still useful for departmental purposes is the Department concerned—in practice, the Deputy Head of the Department or his representative. On the other hand, no one can decide whether a file is of permanent historical value except a person with historical experience and training—although the Department to which the file belongs is in a position to give useful advice. The Archivist is the obvious authority here.

The proportion of departmental files deserving of permanent preservation is smaller than many people think. In the Department of National Defence, the Historical Section of the General Staff has been engaged in screening lists of obsolete files of various dates subsequent to 1903, prepared by the Deputy Minister's office for the comments of Directorates. While to a considerable extent it finds it necessary to work merely from the file titles, a good many files are drawn and examined in detail. I have made a sampling survey of the results obtained from twenty of these lists of files. I find that these covered 6608 files, and that of these the Historical Section recommended only 340 for retention for historical purposes. This proportion (roughly five per cent) is rather surprisingly low, and it would be dangerous to generalize from this sample. It leads me to believe, however, that the estimate of twenty per cent, sometimes given as the overall proportion of governmental records whose preservation the interests of history require, is certainly not too low.

#### The Need for New Regulations.

Having cleared the ground, we must face the question of how to initiate that "systematic transfer of records from the various departments of Government to the Archives" which the Canadian Historical Association points out is so important. "Systematic" is the key-word here. There has been some transfer of records in the past, and some is going on at present; but there has been no general and uniform practice, no steady

controlled flow. It has been entirely discretionary with the various departments whether or not they choose to take action to screen their files and offer a selection of them to the Archives.

The only important piece of governmental machinery which exists to act in such matters is the Interdepartmental Committee on Public Records, created in 1945. This Committee's Chairman is the Secretary of State (in whose absence, by custom, the Dominion Archivist acts). The Privy Council Office provides the Secretary. The Committee's members are chiefly departmental representatives, but two "professional historians to act in an advisory capacity" are nominated by the Canadian Historical Association. The Committee was established by Order in Council (P.C. 6175 of 20 September 1945) and its authority (as well as that of the Treasury Board) is required for the destruction of departmental records.

The Committee has been most useful, and it would seem that it ought to be both maintained and strengthened. Its operations, however, have been largely limited, in practice, to a relatively narrow field. It has in effect functioned primarily as a valuable safeguard against the irresponsible and unjustified destruction of records. It has dealt only with such groups of files as the various departments have chosen to submit to it. It was to examine and report on "the implementing of the approved recommendations of the Royal Commission on Public Records 1914", but although it has explored the question, it has not reported, nor is it perhaps really a particularly suitable body to do so. Mainly I think because of the Archives' lack of accommodation, it has not found it practicable to make provision for any general system of screening and transfer. It is this provision which is now required.

P.C. 6175 represented an attempt to provide an adequate policy on public records. The final paragraphs of the Order read as follows:

6. The primary responsibility for the care and maintenance of records and for seeing that the policies of government in respect to disposition of public records be carried out so as to ensure that material of permanent value be not unwittingly destroyed will rest with departments and agencies of government concerned.

7. Each department shall assign responsibility for superintendence of its records to one or more senior officers, preferably the departmental secretary if such a position exists, or an official of similar rank. The duties of these officers will be to review periodically the state of the departmental records and to reclassify them with a view to disposal or transfer of those of permanent value but not currently required to the Public Archives (or Public Records Office, if established)



or to some other dominion or provincial departments, or by some form of destruction under existing regulations. These officers will also maintain liaison with agencies responsible to the Minister. Recommendations respecting contemplated disposal along the above lines shall be submitted, in all cases, for formal approval of the Committee on Public Records.

These sections of the Order in Council have not been very effective. Even had a determined attempt been made to make them effective, it would at once have been defeated by the Public Archives' lack of space, and this was clear to the Public Records Committee. While it might be argued that this Order erred on the side of vagueness, and of respect for departmental autonomy, it was perhaps the best that could be obtained in the circumstances of 1945. Since that time, the Public Records Committee has carried on useful educational and preparatory work, which has been reflected in a considerable improvement in the internal records policy of several Departments. It now seems practicable and necessary to carry the matter a stage further and introduce a really effective policy. The Departments, it would seem, might now be given firmer guidance than heretofore. To ensure uniform action by all Departments, definite regulations, mandatory rather than permissive, would appear to be desirable; and there must be a supervisory authority, not so much to coerce the Departments as to remind them of their responsibilities and assist them in discharging them.

There does not seem to be any need for a Statute; the situation appears to be one that could be met by an Order in Council, if adequate means of supervision were provided. A case could be made for regulations along the following lines:

- (a) Requiring each Department to review its files periodically and submit to the Public Records Committee, with a view to their transfer to the Archives or destruction, those which have been relatively inactive for a period of ten years (or less if the Department no longer requires the files) and which the Department no longer considers necessary for its day-to-day operations.
- (b) Defining the material which it is proper for the Archives to accept—i.e., records which are of permanent national importance. Differences of opinion as to the interpretation of this rule which may arise between the Archives and a Department, to be referred for decision to the Public Records Committee, or if necessary thence to the Cabinet.
- (c) Permitting the Archivist to accept documents subject to restrictions on their use which may be imposed by the Deputy

Head of the Department concerned. The Archivist, however, should not be compelled to accept restrictions which he thinks unreasonable. In this respect he is the trustee of the interests of historical scholarship; and the historical profession will doubtless watch his proceedings closely. If a Department proposes restrictions which he thinks unreasonable, he can always refuse the files. Here again, differences of opinion could be referred to the Public Records Committee, or if necessary to the Cabinet.

- (d) Requiring the Public Records Committee to supervise the transfer programme and to ensure compliance with subparagraph (a) above. The Committee might be required to report annually to the Cabinet on the programme.

The rule that no records may be destroyed without the authority of the Public Records Committee clearly ought to be maintained.

It will be observed that I would suggest entrusting the supervisory function to the Public Records Committee. It would I think be undesirable and unfair to expect the Archivist to undertake this responsibility; an "independent" authority is required. The Archivist is, however, a member of the Committee and will be able to make himself heard on every issue that arises.

To enable the Public Records Committee to undertake these enlarged responsibilities, it would have to be provided with a permanent full-time Secretary. The success or failure of the programme will largely depend upon this official. It would seem suitable that the Secretary should continue to be provided from the staff of the Privy Council Office.

Such a system as that sketched above could not work efficiently without the co-operation of the Deputy Heads of Departments. In order to ensure this, the Archivist must be in a position to give good service to the Departments, and in particular to give them rapid and ready access to all their transferred documents, and help and guidance in the use of them, whenever required. This involves the possession by the Archives of an adequate staff, with particular members charged with the duty of supervising the records transferred from individual departments or groups of departments.

I understand that the Archivist is prepared to return groups of documents to the Departments which transferred them, in the event of their being seriously required. It seems desirable that this practice should be maintained, but I am not certain that it should be made mandatory upon the Archivist.

#### Procedures and Machinery.

The present Archivist, in his Annual Report for the year 1949, has

made a recommendation on procedure for the actual movement of files from the Departments to the Archives, as follows:

"The solution would appear to be the construction of a large half-way house for departmental files, controlled and staffed by the Public Archives, but not necessarily situated in downtown Ottawa. To this depository the departments would be invited to send all records not required for day-to-day use. As long as any reference to files was required, the Archives staff would service them and produce the necessary papers on request. When they ceased to be of interest to a department, records would be reviewed by Archives personnel, and those containing material of permanent historic interest would be transferred to the Archives. The rest would be destroyed. This plan would provide an orderly solution of the public records problem at minimum cost; and, by becoming the custodian of the older files of the various departments, the Archives would be able to give immeasurably better service to outside inquirers."

I hesitate to disagree with the Archivist, but there is some doubt in my mind as to whether this is really the best solution for the problem.

For one thing, while it is certainly desirable to provide a solution at minimum cost, I am not certain that this one would really achieve this. The first step suggested is the construction of a "large" building, evidently conceived as separate from the main Archives group. Apart from the cost of building, this would inevitably involve some continuing extra cost in administrative overhead.

Another consideration is this. The Archivist does not indicate whether he would propose to permit historians to have access to the files in the "half-way house". It would seem, however, that such access, if permitted at all, might in the circumstances have to be on a restricted basis. With the interests of history in mind, it would be unfortunate if the arrangement recommended resulted in a large body of public records being placed, so to speak, in a state of suspended animation—with the Departments relieved of them on one hand, and the historian denied access to them on the other. Once a Department no longer had to find storage space for files, might it not be subject to the temptation to let them lie indefinitely in the "half-way house", where they would be maintained at somebody else's expense and would nevertheless be available if required?

In the event of the Archivist's suggestion being adopted, it is of great importance that the "half-way house" should be administered and staffed by the Archives as he recommends. It is undesirable that there should be any repetition of the situation immediately before the Second World War,



when a Records Building, unconnected with the Archives and unprovided with any adequate servicing staff, was built and Departments were invited to transfer their inactive files to it. This innovation inevitably proved abortive, and the transferred records were gradually recalled. Every historian whose opinion I have heard considered this experiment an aberration of policy. The addition of a qualified staff would render such a scheme considerably less open to question.

If the scheme is carried out, it is also of great importance that the most specific possible provision should be made to prevent the inactive record centre becoming a mere "sump" in which departmental files will remain for an indefinite period. A procedure by which material deposited in the centre should be regularly examined with a view either to destruction or transfer to the Archives proper, should be made mandatory, not permissive. No group of files should be allowed to remain in the centre more than five years without such survey.

It is also of the greatest importance that an effort be made to provide for access to the files in the centre by qualified historical scholars.

My own opinion is that departmental files should remain the responsibility, and in the custody, of the originating department as long as the Deputy Head of that department considers that there is any considerable likelihood of their being required for departmental consultation. When that likelihood becomes remote, they should in my opinion be screened and either transferred to the Archives as historical documents or submitted to the Public Records Committee with a view to their destruction. I believe that records should be either Departmental property or Archives property; except in so far as the Departments may prescribe, and the Archivist accept legitimate restrictions on access to be granted to scholars, there should be no twilight zone.

During the past few months, the Department of National Defence has been engaged in screening inactive files on a large scale. The procedure adopted is to circulate lists of files to the various Directorates, which indicate any that should in their opinion be retained for departmental reasons; the lists are also circulated to the Dominion Archivist, who indicates those that he considers ought to be retained for historical purposes; and files of no interest to either the Directorates or the Archivist are submitted to the Public Records Committee for authority to destroy. I see no reason why this procedure, with variants, should not be applied to other Departments; it is in fact, I believe, in use by several. Its application in the case of National Defence has perhaps been facilitated by the existence of the Service Historical Sections, which have been available to advise the Deputy Minister and in practice to do most of the historical

screening<sup>1</sup>; in other Departments, a rather heavier responsibility would fall upon the Archives, which must have staff available to advise and assist and to carry out examination of files.

The present Archivist, within the physical limitations of his building, has acted with admirable energy to improve the Archives' holdings of post-Confederation material. By re-allotment of space he has contrived to set up a new manuscript room, which will be used in part at least to house papers to be transferred from the Department of External Affairs. This, I believe, is the first transfer of records to be made by that Department. This is a most encouraging development, even though many of the files will be deposited subject to restrictions on their use "by the general public"—which presumably includes historians. This is necessary "because the topics with which they deal are still live issues" or because they include correspondence with the United Kingdom Government, which does not allow examination of files of dates later than 1902. As a matter of comity, Canada will observe the same rule with respect to this correspondence.

Although nobody will question the need for such restrictions, it may be in order here to express the hope that the Government of Canada will continue to keep before it the desirability of pursuing a liberal policy in the matter of access by historians to public records. Such a policy has in fact been pursued to date—it is evidenced, for example, in the decision to open to scholars the military records of the First World War. It would seem to be in accordance with the highest conception of the public interest, as well as with the present trend of policy in many countries—notably the United States. The practice of the United Kingdom has tended to be more conservative. Historians will hope that the Canadian Government will from time to time use its influence in London in favour of the most liberal policy consistent with national security and good relations with foreign countries. It is arguable that there can be relatively few matters on which secrecy is really necessary for as long a period as 48 years.

#### V. THE QUESTION OF MINISTERIAL PAPERS

In its brief addressed to the Royal Commission, which has already been referred to, the Canadian Historical Association directed attention to a question closely related to that of public records: the disposition of papers of Ministers of the Crown, and the importance of ensuring "the national preservation of all historical documents bearing on the public interest" included among such papers. The brief may be quoted:

It is understood to be the accepted practice that a Minister's papers are considered his private property and are disposed of by him, when he severs his connection with a Department, as he sees

<sup>1</sup>The files which these Sections regard as important are for the present being held in the Department for use in the preparation of the Official History.

fit. These collections of papers often include many public documents and other records not of a strictly private nature. The desirability of providing some means of ensuring the preservation of such records and their availability, at some future time, for the use of historians, needs no emphasis. The Association therefore recommends if practicable, that arrangements be made for the segregation of the public documents coming into the hands of Ministers, and their eventual transfer, under proper safeguards, to the Public Archives.

At the same time, it is desirable that the attention of Ministers should be called to the importance of preserving their personal correspondence and records on matters of public interest. The Dominion Archivist would presumably always be prepared to accept custody of such collections, on whatever conditions as to access the owners might prescribe.

The present writer's own experience fully supports this argument. Canadian history of the nineteenth century would be infinitely poorer without the hundreds of volumes of the papers of Sir John A. Macdonald, now in the Public Archives. It is, indeed, hard to imagine what the written history of the Macdonald period would have been like without these documents. There is no doubt, however, that some ministerial papers of this and later times have entirely perished or have remained in private hands, unavailable to historians, and constantly exposed to the risk of destruction.

The acquisitions made by the Public Archives in 1949 illustrate the problem. They included two important personal collections of ministerial papers, one of the nineteenth and one of the twentieth century: those of Sir John Thompson (Prime Minister 1892-4) and of the Hon. Ian Mackenzie, who held three different portfolios in the Federal Cabinet before and during the Second World War. The former remained in private hands for 55 years but fortunately was preserved and will now make its belated contribution to Canadian history. The latter reached the Archives as a result of the public spirit of Mrs. Mackenzie, and although it is to be sealed until 1975 the present writer has been specially authorized to use it in preparing the Official History of the Second World War. It contains information of importance to the history of the war effort which he has found nowhere else.

These circumstances lead him to hope that serious attention will be paid to the recommendations of the Canadian Historical Association. The present arrangements—or lack of arrangements—concerning ministerial papers seem to be a somewhat serious lacuna in Canadian records policy.

As a minimum, it is desirable that the importance of the matter should be kept before Ministers. The Dominion Archivist might well make it his business to remind every retiring Minister of the importance of his



papers and the readiness of the Archives to take custody of them on whatever conditions he might prescribe.

#### VI. SUMMARY

At the risk of boring the reader, I venture to recapitulate here merely the main points of the foregoing paper and the main facts of the present situation. Some of these have already been mentioned more than once.

The Public Archives of Canada today seems urgently in need of the careful attention of government. The institution stood still through a period in which, largely though not entirely as a result of the Second World War, there has been a vast increase in the bulk of governmental records. It is clear that a very considerable programme of expansion is required, and that the need is immediate.

Canada still has no really effective public records policy, though the need for one, and the form it should take, were explained by an able Royal Commission thirty-six years ago. What is required, basically, is a plan which will provide for and enforce the constant and systematic screening of the obsolete records of the government—those of no historical value being destroyed and those worthy of preservation being transferred to the Public Archives.

Such a policy requires the Public Archives to function as a Public Records Office on a much larger scale and more systematically than heretofore. It cannot do so without larger premises and a considerably larger staff of trained archivists than it possesses at the present time.

The importance to our national culture of the continued investigation and interpretation of Canada's history seems to need no emphasis. That investigation, under modern conditions, is dependent upon the pursuance of an effective archives and public records policy.

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## HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND MUSEUMS

W. L. MORTON

THE terms of reference for this study are "the historical museums, historical societies and historical sites and monuments in Canada —what is being done and how; what could or should be done."

An account must be presented qualitatively rather than statistically. It may be noted, however, that some seventy-five historical societies are now active, or have been within the past five years. A count of thirty-three museums has been made, and it may be taken for granted that this is incomplete. At least two provinces have historic sites boards. These figures are inclusive of the national bodies; the Canadian Historical Association; the Catholic History Society; the Irish Historical Society; the Canadian Jewish Historical Society; the War Museum; the Public Archives of Canada, as a depository of museum pieces.

In point of mere numbers this is no mean endowment for a nation of 14,000,000. The distribution is not so satisfactory; the central and older provinces have been more active in these fields than the newer, with the exception of British Columbia.

The historical societies of Canada, and kindred associations, it may be said, suffer from certain constitutional infirmities. They depend upon the enthusiasm and zeal of chosen spirits, often a single one, and these in time weary or pass on. They become the haunts of the old and the garrulous, and are made the opportunity for the exchange of reminiscences. Too often the result is to repel the young and eager, and the serious student. The crank, the antiquarian and the frustrated make them the victims of their essentially parasitic activities. Personal differences arise and, as so often in immaterial things, feelings are hurt and energies dissipated. Income is precarious, and frequently, though possessing a name, the historical society lacks a local habitation. The preserve, and properly so, of the amateur, they too often exhibit a jealousy and suspicion of the professional scholar or archivist who might help. The scholar, on the other hand, is sometimes tactless or too critical, and in any event can hardly hope to win recognition or promotion by any time or energy he may give to the work of the societies. In consequence, bodies which should serve as fruitful opportunities for the cooperation of layman and scholar, for the humanizing of the specialist and the informing of the

novice, actually become causes of friction and means of division. The tendency is strengthened by the fact that no Canadian historical society, so far as has been ascertained, possesses a permanent, much less a trained, staff or so much as a secretary.

Yet much is being done in Canadian national, provincial and local history, and attention should be directed to how it is being done. The means for historical study in all fields of historical work, research, collection, preservation, publication and display are, to a surprising degree, provided by private persons. The Public Archives and the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, the National Parks Board and the War Museum are, of course, maintained by the federal treasury. Some provincial governments make grants of one kind or another, as do some municipal bodies. Of all these it may be said that they are quite inadequate, if also indispensable. But much, or all, of the work of the Canadian Historical Association, the Champlain Society, and the various provincial and local bodies is accomplished by private fees, subscriptions and donations. That it should be so is entirely healthy, and it would be detrimental in any way to diminish this small but vital flow of income. It cannot be said, however, that it is a cause for national or local pride that federal, provincial and municipal grants to a cause of such public and cultural significance should be so insignificant when measured by the scale of expenditure on, say, the physical sciences, physical health, or mental disease.

To attempt to estimate at all closely the value of the historical activity described would be a rash undertaking. Suffice it to say that it can hardly be accepted as satisfactory. It is a matter of notoriety that Canadians cannot agree upon a national flag, a common national symbol. That, however, is but a superficial symptom of a fundamental lack of national coherence. It is far more significant that no Canadian historian has written a history of Canada wholly acceptable to both the French and English publics of the country. There is an increasing interest in such a book, though most Canadians might find it painful and revealing reading. The fact that none has yet appeared is perhaps the failure of Canadian historians. The historian, however, though he must master, cannot transcend, his materials. It is suggested that the failure is rather the failure of the people and governments of Canada, through national and provincial archives, historic sites and monuments boards, historical societies and bodies of all kinds, to furnish the tools, and the amenities, of scholarship, and to foster the growth of the critical and receptive public which enlightened and creative scholarship requires.

It is also to be noted that what has been accomplished has been done for the most part by amateurs in spare time, or by professional scholars who have to earn their livings by teaching, administration, or other shifts and expedients. Practically no one, not even in the Public Archives,



is for any length of time free to publish, collect, catalogue, display, or plan.

More specifically, it cannot be said that the publication of documentary sources, whether by the Public Archives of Canada or those provinces which have archival publications, or by private societies, is adequate to the needs of Canadian scholars, or the lay public. Nor have the historical societies been able to publish enough. Of their publications it must be said that they have, in the limited experience of the writer, failed in the generality of instances to come up to desirable editorial standards. The publication of sets of papers and of series of records, both national and regional, is one field of history in which Canada is sadly behind its contemporaries.

Collection must precede publication and in this respect it may seem that the circumstances are somewhat improved. Yet it is not really so. The lack of a Public Records Office in Ottawa, or its equivalent, the fact that there are archives, or approximations thereto, in only six of the provinces, that local or regional archives are few, means that provision for the collection of state and private papers is most deficient. The richness of the Public Archives of Canada in the pre-Confederation period should not blind the observer to its comparative poverty in public and private records of the years after 1867. Of provincial archives only those of Nova Scotia, Quebec and British Columbia are in satisfactory condition, and perhaps only relatively speaking. The Ontario Archives were wrecked by governmental frugality. Those of Saskatchewan have made a good beginning on firm foundations; something is being done in Manitoba; and there seem to be faint stirrings of interest elsewhere. While provincial state records are in good or fair condition in most of these provinces, municipal and business records are scanty, newspaper files are not always reliable and private papers are few.

In all, space for storage and staff for cataloguing and aiding researchers are inadequate, though recently the staff of the Public Archives of Canada has been increased. Staff of training and imagination generally do not exist, with a few outstanding exceptions almost any practising scholar could name offhand.

Only a handful of historical societies can attempt publication, collection, or preservation of records. It is an open question whether they should; in the absence of adequate financial resources, it would probably be better for them to act as supporters and critics of the public archives.

In the field of historical commemoration much has been done, thanks to the steady work of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and the National Parks Service. Something has been marked, or is preserved everywhere in the inhabited parts of the country. A general criticism which arises from an examination of the reports of the Historic Sites Board is that of lack of coherence and imagination. Individual monuments are

not enough. The monuments and markers should constitute patterns and sequences, evoking and dramatizing areas, routes, campaigns, and industries. There should be less emphasis on explorers and soldiers and more on events, occupations and personalities. The besetting fear of giving offence has stultified this work as so much else. Why not a statue of Riel? We have had so few rebels we should make the most of them.

Almost without exception, so far as it has been possible to discover, our historical museums suffer for want of space, funds and staff. It is to be suspected that the chief want is that of trained staff. An effective historical, or other, museum does not require much in the way of collections—copies will do—display space, or staff. Given a good curator, plenty of storage space, courage to reject unwanted donations, and a clear vision of the stories to be told, a very small and financially poor museum might have two or three cyclical displays. A national historical museum, of course, could provide travelling exhibits.

To turn from what is being done to what could be done is to turn from the concrete to the hypothetical. Given adequate funds and personnel, it would be possible for historians and historical institutions of all kinds to make a great and lasting contribution to Canadian culture. The cultural role of history, as a study and a pastime, is to clarify the assumptions about their past by which men live; to create the historical sense which is fundamental to the outlook of any man of general culture; to promote that fusion of knowledge and insight without which men may neither come to terms with their environment nor realize an identity with their fellow men. To enable history to play this cultural role, however, the auxiliaries and techniques of historical science must be available: archives, libraries, authentic records and true copies, trained staff and catalogues, bibliographies and indices. There must also be maintained a sympathetic and yet critical public to create a climate of opinion in which historical studies may flourish.

The state has a major part to perform in providing the necessities and in encouraging the productive scholar and the critical public. By a generous and consistent policy of maintaining public archives and museums, publishing state papers and preserving the greater historic sites and commemorating the personalities and events of national or world importance, it would give a lead which would powerfully draw private associations and individuals along the same course. In doing so, the state in Canada would only be emulating the state in the United Kingdom, or the United States.

Historical societies could do much more than they do; the contrast between the great historical societies in the United States and even the best in Canada is startling and humiliating. Nor is the difference to be explained by the difference in national income. The figures attached to the brief of the Ontario Historical Society dispose of that contention concisely. The

fundamental difference is that our societies have lacked state endowment, grant, or favour. Given an assured basic income, to be supplemented by fees and donations with which to maintain paid staffs, the larger Canadian societies could collect and preserve local records, or act as collecting agencies for provincial and national archives. They could build up valuable and properly edited series of papers and transactions, which over the years would develop a steady increment of value. They could undertake the very necessary work of popularizing history by local projects, by aiding the local radio to put on reasonably authentic and entertaining historical talks, sketches or even plays. They could exploit the possibilities of film photography on a local scale, as collections of photographs and pictures were assembled, or collections of costumes built up. They could, as a few do now, develop an interest in local history in the schools. One of the greatest weaknesses in Canadian culture is the failure of our schools to make even our own history seem to be "real". If our children were to note that educated adults found in the history of their community material at once for serious study and mental refreshment, their attitude would change.

It might be that such activities by the larger societies would help to soften the rigid professionalism of Canadian historians. The situation must not develop that the scholar will win most reputation and gain promotion most quickly by writing a book for other scholars. There ought to be such books, just as there are medical books or works of reference, but if history is to play a role in Canadian culture, then some historical books must be written to be read by laymen, and must be written to please by their art and insight.

A good museum can teach more and please more than any teacher, however gifted, or any book, however well written. By a good museum is meant one which has a clear story to tell, which tells it by the grouping, sequence and flow of exhibits; which excludes distraction and keeps what is not relevant in the store-room. The better the story, the better is the effect, of course. What more colourful story could an inspired curator want than that of canoe transport, or the timber trade, or the Red River buffalo hunts? But they could be told with half a dozen artifacts, three or four pictures, one or two costumes, and two or three mountable murals. Again, the smaller museums could specialize in regional or local stories and by the same broad technique arrest the attention of the most uninterested of local people, or the most casual of tourists. For with museums, as with monuments, we come to cultural relations as well as culture, and a legitimate and important field it is. At present American and European visitors must be unfavourably impressed both by the scarcity of Canadian museums and monuments, and by the slovenliness or inadequacy of many of those which do exist. Sightly and intelligent museums will draw tourists,



and they will draw because they please and inform. And evidence of a proper respect for our past will cause us to be respected.

Enough has already been said about historic sites and monuments. It has been consistently implied that what is chiefly lacking is planning. To that may be added that while dignity characterizes the monuments and markers of the Historic Sites Board, much might be done, with proper means, to add to the beauty and symbolism of our life by a freer use of sculpture. Nor need all the markers be stone or bronze; would not a beaver colony, under management, be a national monument *par excellence* and self-perpetuating?

Two other national agencies might do valuable work in the popularization of history, the National Film Board and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Both film and radio have considerable, if strictly limited, possibilities of making authentic history vivid and attractive. The C.B.C. in talks and plays has done something, but the product has been of very uneven, and at times even deleterious, quality. Apart from sheer carelessness or worse, the cause seems to be the unusual tug-of-war between the historian obsessed with the need of accuracy and the showman preoccupied with the need of appeal. That both are possible in combination has been demonstrated by Arthur L. Phelps and by plays such as Coulter's *Riel*. The National Film Board has not until recently been interested in history, and reports of its first efforts are not too encouraging. Again, there is the same conflict between true representation and popular appeal. Yet work of high quality may be done, as *The Loon's Necklace* demonstrates, and as photographic animation of actual prints and photographs makes possible.

The remedy for carelessness, indifference and the inevitable conflict of scholar and showman lies in the appointment of supervisors, or the creation of historical sections, in both the Film Board and the C.B.C. This would involve a degree of centralization which might make for difficulties, but it is suggested that the proper popular representation of the Canadian past is worth the effort to surmount such difficulties.

It is apparent that a large gap exists between what is being done and what might be done in historical study and presentation in Canada. There is a gap also, dangerous for the healthy growth of Canadian culture, between the work and interests of professional scholars and the needs and tastes of the public. What should be done to narrow these gaps?

By way of preface, it should be said that primarily history is a vocation, whether it is pursued professionally, or as a hobby. Anything done to aid historical studies must be based on that premise, and a wide area of freedom left for individual and local action and responsibility. Above all, the needs and tastes of the amateur and the layman must be kept in view

when considering the part historical activities may play in enriching Canadian science and letters.

At the same time, both the professional and the amateur historian require the aid of archives, libraries, and published documents, if their work is not to end in frustration or result in mediocre performance. These are costly aids, which it is the practice of all advanced states to assist in providing. In research, writing, exhibition and commemoration there is need for a professional core to give direction and advice and to ensure the best performance for money expended. Here too, the state must contribute.

It is submitted that, nationally, the following are some of the things that should be done. Statutory authority should be obtained and enforced for the deposition of all public records, including the official papers of Ministers of the Crown, in the Public Archives, up to terminal dates, with respect to departmental files, set by each Department. The transfer of papers should be at the discretion of the Archivist, not of the Department, and the files should be transferred *in toto*. Archives staff should be sufficient to make transferred papers available quickly. The Archives should be granted staff and funds for the institution of the publication of a State Papers Series at not too remote a date.

For the discovery, collection and preservation of private papers, a Canadian Records Survey should be instituted by the Archives, with sufficient staff and funds to compile such a survey in time to be of use to the generation paying for it. The result should be a National Register of archival resources and of manuscript and other collections. When this work is sufficiently advanced a Canadian Records Society should be formed by the Archives, with appropriate regional and institutional (e.g., Champlain Society) representation. The Society would exist to keep the National Register up to date, and be given staff and funds for the purpose. It should also undertake the editing and publication of private records on its own initiative and also for such regional associations as lacked the means, but could meet the requisite editorial standards of publication. The Society should be an advisory body with a Director of the highest professional competence, and an adequate appropriation of funds for staff, editing and publication.

It is believed that there is a great field of work for such a Society. Not only could it aid the regional associations in the work of collection and publication, but it could relieve the Archives of much work and some worry by undertaking the editing and publication, without fear of political repercussions, of private papers in the custody of the Archives, and especially of those of politicians or controversial figures. Beyond the resources of the Archives, there is a great field in economic and business history which is untouched in Canada, except for the *Hudson's Bay Records*

and H. A. Innis' and A. R. M. Lower's *Documents Illustrative of Canadian Economic History*. By agreement the work of the Champlain Society in reprinting rare books and editing personal papers might be shared by the Record Society. The Society might also be the channel through which aid could be granted to series like the *Mediaeval Studies* of the Pontifical Institute of St. Michael's, University of Toronto.

The development of a national historical exhibit at Ottawa is highly desirable, particularly if it were confined to national subjects, such as the story of Confederation and the things which went to make Canada, such as transport, or the staple trades. More important would be the development of travelling exhibits for display in approved museums across the country, always provided the exhibits possessed the utmost in drama and impact. Some of these exhibits might be documentary ones, as such things well handled will draw and probably have a more lasting effect, if less vivid impact, than exhibits of relics.

The above should be the work of the National Museum, and is suggested on the assumption that it would not involve any reorganization of that institution, but only the provision of funds, staff and encouragement. It is believed, however, that some reorganization of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board should be considered. It would seem that this Board is national in the sense of having a representative or representatives from every province. The provincial representative, if active, comes down to Ottawa with a project to propose, and the available funds are spread across the country, province by province, with the result that each site or monument tends to become isolated, and the drama it commemorates is largely lost. Some sites, of course, are large enough and significant enough in themselves to avoid this fate. The suggestion is offered that the Board should be made a professional rather than a regionally representative one, while retaining its advisory character, but be furnished with a Director of the highest professional competence, empowered to cooperate with provincial boards and regional associations, and to prepare coherent regional plans for systematic application. The director should be a scholar with a sense of showmanship.

If, however, a core of professional staff is to be provided for the suggested increase in historical activities, measures must be considered to make personnel available. It is not merely a matter of creating positions and providing salaries, but also one of training personnel. There are library schools, but no means of obtaining professional archival training or museum training is available in Canada. Grants for technical education in these fields might perhaps be made to one of the larger central universities, or technical scholarships provided for study abroad. These should be available not only to students but also to existing staff for refreshment and additional training in new methods. Possibly archival assistant-



ships could also be made available to graduate students for summer work in archives, or in connection with their own studies. If such were provided, they should be available not only in the national archives, but also in approved provincial or even local archives.

Such aids to the development of adequate professional staff are of the first importance, but of importance also would be aids to the improvement of the work of the amateurs. A publishing venture should be launched—perhaps the first undertaking of the Records Society—to provide handbooks to effective work in local history in Canada. These should deal with the work of libraries and museums, the elementary problems of research, the rudiments of historical method and writing, the primary tests of worth in documents and relics and the most effective methods of exhibition and of tourist guidance. It might include a tourist guide series, or regional Baedekers, with supplements on travel accommodation, and perhaps a series of colourful but accurate historical guide maps, accurate enough to be used on the road and colourful enough to be hung in the study as a memento or an ornament.

The above suggestions have been made without much consideration either of present expediency and feasibility, or the special problems of a federal state and of a bi-cultural country of continental dimensions. The latter are, of course, of pre-eminent importance. It is true that what is of use to the historical studies of one racial group is of use to the other; there are much the same needs present in both. Yet it is desirable that the work of scholars and historical associations and institutions should be such as to promote understanding and cooperation between the two great Canadian stocks. This is to be done more by the practical working of sound policies and good institutions than by good intentions. That all the senior appointees suggested above should be bi-lingual goes without saying. More important and more difficult of application, perhaps, is the framing and operating of policies and institutions which will be freely accepted in all parts of the country and which will work in the constant consciousness that there are French-Canadians and English-Canadians in every province of Canada, no province being a preserve of one culture or the other, and none a state within the state.

The aim should be the integration of local, provincial and federal agencies by representation, conference and actual cooperation. It is to be hoped that a similar integration of private associations might be achieved where desirable, as a regional and perhaps a national association of historical societies. An association similar to the State and Local History Society of the United States is probably not feasible in the immediate future, or a publication like *American Heritage*, but might well become so if historical work were to receive the impetus of the kind suggested above.

It should not be impossible to bring about much integration in the

field of archival work. Instead of separate archives across the country, there should be archives established as a national system by means of concurrent legislation, to ensure the same standards, methods and progress. If such a system were put into effect, it would make possible, to a degree,—and the federal government might make good any difference in salary—the interchange of personnel. The result would be to make the national archives the pace-maker and setter of standards for the whole country. Some similar system to link the National Library with provincial and local libraries—at least the major ones—would have the same benefits. At the same time something which should be done in any event would be made easier, namely the interchange of microfilmed and photostated documents and books. A common remark with respect to both the Public Archives and the National Library is that they are all very well, but no use to any one not in reach of Ottawa. The remark is not particularly well-founded, in view of modern methods of reproduction and distribution, but it will be necessary to make known and actively demonstrate the possibilities of these methods, if the National Library and Archives are not to suffer from an indifference, or even resentment, which will inevitably make itself felt when the Estimates are debated.

Should any such integrated system be undertaken, it would greatly alter the duties of the Public Archivist. He would become the inspirer and supervisor of what would in effect be a national system. In that event, a deputy would be necessary to take care of the Public Archives themselves, while the Archivist was freed to do what would be initially a larger job. Alternately, a Director of Archives might be appointed. It is suggested that in such an event also his hands be strengthened by the power to recommend federal grants to archives of approved standing. Similar power might be bestowed upon the National Librarian. It would seem fitting that such grants should be on a dollar-for-dollar or similar basis, in recognition of the national interest in provincial and local records and libraries.

The general Federal-Provincial legislation for archives and public records should include provision for public depositories of public records, including municipal ones, and for standards of construction and staffing of such depositories. The archival and library legislation of the United Kingdom and the United States would, of course, be a fruitful source of suggestion for this legislation; that of the United States also for a solution of the problem of federal and provincial cooperation. On the latter point, one vital difference is, of course, that the American states are wealthier and further above the poverty line, as it were, than the smaller Canadian provinces.

With respect to museums the same degree of integration should not be required. Yet there might be a federal Director of Museums available

for advice to the provincial and local museums, and enabled to make his advice sought and respected by authority to recommend federal grants to approved museums. The National Museum, as already suggested, could increase the interest and raise the standard of local museums by traveling historical exhibits. An exchange of staff with those institutions employing trained staff, which would be one condition of a federal grant, would also help to raise the standards of the exhibitions and of the profession.

In summary, what is needed is positive direction by national agencies in all fields of historical work, archives, libraries, publication, exhibition and commemoration. This must be achieved by the integration of federal and provincial agencies by legislation, grants and national associations. Such a commingling of the federal and provincial, state and private endeavour, should not be beyond the resources of Canadian ingenuity or of the flexible functioning of a democratic society.

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## THE NATURAL SCIENCES

J. W. T. SPINKS

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Development of Science

**A**LTHOUGH man has been interested in science from the earliest times, it was not until the 17th century that the so-called scientific method first appeared. This method led to such a rapid and accelerating development of science that by the time the industrial revolution was well under way, the position of science as an integral part of civilization was secure. In a thousand ways science was necessary both in measuring and standardizing in industry, and in introducing new economies and new processes. In spite of this, however, there was at first very little financial support either for scientific research or for scientific teaching. Research in England, for example, was done in such places as the laboratories of the Royal Institution or in private laboratories. However, the rise of science in Germany brought about in England a resolute attempt by means of Royal Commissions to foster scientific work both in the Universities and elsewhere.

By the end of the 19th century, a definite institution of science had grown up—a scientific world appeared, consisting of professors, employees in industrial and government laboratories and the like, together with numerous scientific societies and scientific publications. Scientists were again concerned only with pure knowledge. The industrialists made use of the scientist; the scientists had the satisfaction of knowing that they were living in an age of indefinite progress to which their labors were contributing the largest share. The idea gradually arose that the scientist's responsibility was limited to the carrying out of his own work. This attitude is still widely prevalent today, both in scientist and layman.

#### Organization of Scientific Research

A turning point in the history of science was reached in the war of 1914. This war differed from previous ones in that it involved whole nations and not only armies drawn from them. Agriculture, industry, and science were pressed into direct war service. However, it was not just the application of well-known scientific principles which was decisive,

but the production by scientists of weapons of increasing destructive power and the provisions of countermeasures against similar advances by the enemy. As a result of this organized use of scientists, departments of science were set up by the government, e.g., the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in England, the National Research Council in Canada, and the National Research Council in the United States.

Industry itself also took steps to carry on organized research. In Great Britain, research associations were established by the various industries and supported financially by the government. Crowther has estimated that the total research expenditures in Great Britain in pre-war days amounted to only one-tenth of one per cent of the National Income. On the same basis, both the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics spent about five times as much as Great Britain, while Canada is reported to have spent considerably less than Great Britain. Germany spent perhaps one and one-half times as much as Great Britain. These expenditures emphasize the national importance of science, even though science is fundamentally much more international than national. One does not need to stress the dominant role played by science in the last World War, nor does the reader need to be reminded of the fantastic amounts of money spent in developing single scientific devices such as radar and the atomic bomb.

### Economic Significance of Scientific Research

Today, science is becoming more and more a part of our modern industrial development and the economic progress of a nation depends not only on the imaginative application of new scientific discoveries but also on continual advances in the field of fundamental research. A great deal of the applied research in Canada (and United States) has been based on fundamental research done in Europe, e.g., the atom bomb developments in Canada and United States were based on discoveries made in Great Britain, Italy and Germany, and in fact many of the leading scientists in these projects came from those centres. In this respect, Canada is particularly vulnerable, in the fact that we have received much of our research at second hand. In industry, many of our larger companies are branch plants of firms in the United States and the United Kingdom, and benefit from research carried out by the parent companies. Such research work as is done by the Canadian companies is often merely to solve specific Canadian problems.

During the last war, Canadian scientists worked for the first time on equal terms with scientists of allied countries and helped in the solution of essential problems.

It is necessary to look ahead to the time when we shall be compelled to do more of our own research to keep up with developments in the in-



dustrial field. The importation of scientific ideas is bad for the intellectual development of a country—particularly when coupled with the export of scientific brains. In time of war it leaves the country in an extremely vulnerable position. In time of peace it weakens its competitive position with other nations. Today, research has a profound influence on our national welfare and security.

Fundamental research is research directed towards discoveries in certain fields; applied research is organized effort to apply known scientific facts and principles to a particular problem. The former is probably the main concern of our universities, although much is now being done at the National Research Council and its regional laboratories and by the Atomic Energy Centre at Chalk River. Applied research is done by industries although applied research in a broad sense can be done by government agencies.

There is also what may be termed “background research”—systematic observation, collection and analysis of data to provide foundation for pure and applied research, (surveys, maps, chemical and physical data, descriptions of animals, plants and minerals, etc.).

Naturally there is often a good deal of overlapping between these different types of research. In order to relate research activity to human progress, we must carry the picture one stage further. The next stage in incorporating the results of research into economic progress is the development stage. This covers all the work required to bring a new method or product to the stage of practical application or commercial production. If we add to this, analysis and testing, we get the total scientific activity in the broad sense and it can cover such phases of endeavour in the physical and natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities.

Research does not, of course, always result in immediate application of the new knowledge to the business of living. Any country concerned nationally with the pace of its economic development must concern itself with the number and quality of its research workers, the facilities available to them, and the standards of living offered them.

In the modern world, research in the sciences is being carried out more and more in institutions, and greater emphasis is being placed on the team work of specially-trained scientists. Research organizations in universities, government agencies, in private firms and so on, have become an integral part of our system. These institutions can greatly affect material progress, yielding increases of knowledge capable of opening a new epoch.

It is to be noted that the large scale application of science to industry is relatively new and gives rise to the tendency for highly developed countries to develop still further. “To him that hath shall be given” applies not only to people and to industries but also to nations. While

the economic significance of research depends on such factors as population, institutional conditions and technological environment, there is no doubt that in applying science to economic ends the productive capacity of a country is increased, and the way paved for the improvement of the national standard of living of the people in the country.

### Importance of Science in Everyday Life

The importance of all these branches of science has often been emphasized and it is obvious that it is only by a proper application of science that we shall develop to the full the fabulous natural resources of Canada. It is, perhaps, not so obvious, but it is equally certain, that if we do not manage our resources wisely, we are very unlikely to be allowed to keep them. Even keeping what we have is helped by a proper application of science.

While Canada is not big enough to stand alone in international affairs, she has shown that, in alliance with other powers, her help can sometimes be of decisive importance. If Canada is to play its proper role in world affairs, in which scientific and technical pre-eminence is becoming increasingly important, a flourishing scientific life is a necessity.

While science is stressed in this essay, the power and importance of the humanities is not minimized. Most scientists would admit that science is still of subordinate interest to most men and has far less effect on the spirit, the emotions and the activities of men than has philosophy, literature or music. They would also be obliged to admit that many people, particularly the older generation of educated people, still feel that a barrier exists between science and the humanities. It is still important to show such people that science is an essential component in the structure of our common affairs, and that scientific ideas form an integral part of the pattern of our thoughts. If this estimate of the importance of science in national and international affairs is correct, it is of importance to try to assess the present status of science in Canada and the effect the sciences have upon the maintenance and encouragement of a sense of Canadian unity. It is also of importance to discuss influences tending to impair Canadianism in science and to suggest positive action which might be appropriately taken by the Federal Government to foster the sciences in Canada.

### THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE SCIENCES IN CANADA

In attempting to assess the present status of the sciences in Canada, two aspects must be kept in mind: first, the general scientific level of the country as a whole, and secondly, the scientific level of the scientists themselves.

The first manifests itself in the state of technical development of a country and can be measured by the so-called standard of living. The second manifests itself partly in the state of technical development and partly in the extent to which the country is independent of outside scientific and technical developments.

### Industrial Developments in Canada

In a recent article, the Hon. Mr. Howe stated that Canada was now third among the industrialized and trading nations of the world, and second to the United States in the standard of living.

In less than three decades, Canadian economy has changed from one depending mainly on primary industries—agriculture, fishing, mining, lumbering—to one deriving its main wealth from the processing of primary products and the manufacture of a variety of goods that are a prerequisite to the high standard of living of an advancing industrialized society.

The Canadian process of industrialization is hardly matched by any other country. In 1948, the gross national productivity was 15 billion dollars with 4 per cent going to investment for manufacturing. This should be compared with the United States national productivity of 250 billion dollars with 3 per cent going to manufacturing investment. Mr. Howe also stated that the standard of living in real terms was about 50 per cent better than before the war. It would seem from this brief survey that science in Canada, as measured by the state of industrial development, is indeed in a very healthy state. However, when we come to the second aspect of science in Canada, we find that the above highly favorable picture is largely colored by a rosy glow emanating from a still wealthier technological neighbor to the south.

### Organization of Research in Canada

Scientific and industrial research can be considered as forming a tripod on which rests the industrial strength of a country. The three supporting members are: (1) fundamental research, which is not founded on any particular application but is a free search for truth, the basic capital of all scientific enterprises; (2) applied research of a basic nature, e.g., atomic power research; (3) direct industrial and *ad hoc* research and development—the scientific arm of industry in solving its immediate problem of product improvement, trouble shooting and cost reduction. These three types of research are carried out in the universities, government laboratories and industry itself, but the lines of separation are not clear cut.

A need for scientists was first felt during the first World War and resulted in the formation of the National Research Council. One of the first activities of the Council was to take, in 1917, a research inventory



of Canada. This brought out two facts: (1) that industrial research was at that time practically non-existent in Canada, and (2) that the supply of research men in Canada was entirely inadequate to permit any general application of scientific research to Canadian industrial problems.

This condition has now changed, and today Canada has greatly expanded facilities and staff. In 1919, the total expenditure on research in government, universities and industry was about half a million dollars. By 1939, this had increased to about two million by government and universities and about twenty million by industry for all types of research.

In 1946-47, the National Research Council itself had expenditures amounting to approximately seven million dollars with about two thousand employees and corresponding laboratory facilities. The development of research in industry has been slow, largely because many of our industrial concerns depend on their parent organizations in the United Kingdom and the United States for their research. Government research, on the other hand, has expanded rapidly, first, to speed up the process of production of raw materials and second to develop new methods of processing these raw materials. Thus, the government departments most involved in research are the Departments of Agriculture, Mines and Resources, and Fisheries.

The scientific work carried out by the departments is very varied and extensive. The Department of Health and Welfare, though not organized for research, does some research in addition to routine work.

#### National Research Council

The National Research Council was set up to stimulate, conduct and coordinate scientific and industrial research. It has laboratory divisions of applied biology, chemistry, mechanical engineering and physics. New divisions have been organized, such as the Medical Division, the Atomic Energy Division and new Regional Laboratories, such as the one in Saskatoon.

In order to operate research in Canada to the best efficiency, the National Research Council has set up numerous Associate Committees to bring together those interested in a given field of research.

There are now forty-two Associate Committees and one hundred Sub-Committees making use of scientific talent in institutions throughout the country. The small grants made by the committees enable competent research directors to plan wider programs and stimulate research even in the smallest universities and departments. Of particular importance was the Associate Committee on Medical Research which has now developed into the Medical Division.

The Council also promotes research through scholarships, which are given to post-graduate students in the sciences. For example, in 1949-1950 there were about 200 scholarships worth \$178,000. Probably the majority

of the younger scientists on university faculties in Canada have obtained their advanced training largely through National Research Council Scholarships, and there is no doubt that, at the present time, scientific research in most of the universities is entirely dependent on National Research Council grants.

The extensive research and development work in connection with atomic energy is carried out under the direction of the National Research Council. It is no particular secret that Canada has an atomic energy plant at Chalk River and that the heavy water pile at Chalk River has a neutron flux greater than that of any other pile in the world. The scientific work of the country is expedited and facilitated by liaison offices in Ottawa, London and Washington.

### Military Research

Before the war there was no organized program of research by the Department of National Defence. During the war the National Research Council undertook to do research for the three services and numerous laboratories were set up. The staff was increased tenfold and the Council's activities were devoted almost exclusively to war problems. With the end of the war a Defence Research Board was set up (1947) as a permanent scientific organization "to ensure that military defence planning is guided by the best minds and profits by the most recent findings in every field of modern science." The Director has the rank and standing of a Chief of Staff and is a full member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. It is probably too early to assess the effectiveness of the Defence Research Board and, in any event, such an assessment is probably beyond the scope of this essay.

### Research in Agriculture

Agriculture has always been well supported and research in agriculture relatively well established. There is a Dominion Experimental Farm Service with a Central Experimental Farm at Ottawa and many branch stations engaged in specialized work in agriculture. Two hundred and nineteen illustration stations provide links with the farmer.

The work of Science Service is directed towards the solution of practical problems in agriculture through scientific investigations. In addition, the Division of Applied Biology of the National Research Council, the Production Service of the Department of Agriculture, and the Agricultural Economics Division of the Marketing Service do valuable work.

### Provincial Research Organizations

Provincial research organizations have been set up in a number of provinces: Alberta (1921), Ontario (1928), British Columbia (1944),

Saskatchewan (1946), and Nova Scotia (1948). It is stated that the per capita expenditure in 1947 was eighty-two cents in Ontario, forty-three cents in Nova Scotia, forty-two cents in British Columbia, thirty-seven cents in Prince Edward Island, thirty-five cents in New Brunswick, thirty-three cents in Alberta, twenty-seven cents in Saskatchewan, and twenty-six cents in Manitoba. The total expenditure in 1946 was 3.6 million dollars, and in 1947, 5 million dollars, of which 3 million was for research and development and 2 million for analysis and testing. About 500 professional people were employed by the provinces.

The Provincial research organizations have already proved their worth, and this aspect of research is developing rapidly.

#### Other Research Organizations

Research organizations such as the Banting Research Foundation, set up in 1925 to foster medical research, have done excellent work and should also be mentioned.

#### Industry

While there is an awakening interest in research in Canadian industry, we have few industrial laboratories when compared with the United Kingdom and the United States. Most small industries and many of the larger ones have in the past been totally unaware of the value of research to themselves and to the country. This has been serious for industry, but it has had another unfortunate side in that many of the best young scientists have been attracted to other countries because they found that not only were positions scarcer but the emoluments were smaller in Canada. Part of this difficulty is due to the fact that many of the Canadian companies are subsidiaries of companies in the United Kingdom and the United States.

It is hoped that part of this need will be met by the formation of Research Associations to do research for smaller industries.

In considering Canadian problems, we must keep in mind the vast areas, the absence of concentration of similar industries and the proximity of the vast research facilities of the United States.

In 1944, Dr. H. M. Tory, in a report to the Royal Commission on Provincial Development and Rehabilitation, "emphasized the need for more research of all kinds, both in Canada as a whole and in the individual provinces, to enable Canadian Industry to keep pace with world economic progress."

#### Science in the Universities

Science courses of one kind or another have been given in Canadian universities ever since their founding. For example, McGill had courses



including chemistry in 1857, with practical laboratory courses introduced in 1863. Henry How, of Glasgow, taught at Dalhousie in 1854, Croft and Pike at Toronto at the end of the last century. However, during the 19th century, research was practically non-existent in Canadian universities. Graduate students had yet to appear and any research there was, was done by some lone research worker. An outstanding example is the early collaborative work of Soddy and Rutherford in radioactivity at McGill.

During the early 1900's there was a large increase in both staffs and facilities and there was at the same time a demand for training in research which led to a great development in advanced training. At the same time, new universities such as Alberta, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Manitoba appeared.

Science was relatively neglected in the French Canadian universities and colleges, and it was not until the 1920's that they set about to remedy this deficiency; for example, Laval organized its School of Chemistry in 1920. At first, advanced training was taken care of by departmental committees but since 1920 a number of Schools of Graduate Studies have been established.

Up to 1942, approximately 400 students per year proceeded to a Master's Degree in Canadian universities while approximately 100 proceeded to the Ph.D. It is probable that at least half of these were in Science. Toronto<sup>1</sup> and McGill have awarded the largest number of post-graduate degrees and it is perhaps noteworthy that two of the Western universities, British Columbia and Saskatchewan, have recently inaugurated courses leading to the Ph.D.

Post-graduate work is largely centralized in mid-Canada; there are about twice as many graduates in higher degrees per million inhabitants in the two central provinces as in the Maritimes and Western Provinces. Various reasons might be advanced for this, but one might well conclude that the Maritimes and the Western Provinces are not educating enough of their promising student material.

Each part of Canada should be supporting graduate work, and there should be a good deal of interchange of students between universities, students obtaining their undergraduate training at one university and going to another university for their graduate work.

Research at the universities has followed, in the main, the traditional patterns found in the graduate schools of the Commonwealth. It has been largely fundamental in character but in certain sections a great deal of research has been carried out in connection with the basic problems of the locality. The universities co-operate with the Dominion Government

<sup>1</sup>Toronto had 1363 graduate students in 1948-49 and awarded 39 Ph.D's. in Science.

departments, the National Research Council and the Provincial Research departments.

It is extremely difficult to evaluate the status of the research work being done in Canada. If one points with pride to the outstanding work of the Banting-Best-McLeod-Collip team on insulin, which brought Canada a Nobel Prize, one then has to reflect that we have had only *one* Nobel Prize since its institution and that one of this year's Nobel Prize winners, Giauque, was born in Canada but is now an American.

Or perhaps one thinks of the fame of the Toronto Physics Laboratory in the time of McLennan and, to offset this, one has to remember that a physicist, Bullard, was recently brought from England to head the laboratory (on Professor Burton's death) and that he has now returned to England.

Atomic Energy is in the same boat. We can be justifiably proud of having, at Chalk River, the pile with the highest neutron flux in the world. Our pride is somewhat lessened when we know that the Canadian Atomic Energy Project was initially a joint United Kingdom-Canadian project with practically all the senior people coming from the United Kingdom (Cockcroft, Lewis, Halban, Price, etc.). Most of the United Kingdom people have since returned to Great Britain, but there is no doubt that Chalk River owes a great deal to them.

Until very recently, fundamental research in engineering and chemical engineering has been almost completely lacking.

In chemistry, one could mention the work on the critical state, free radical reactions, portland cement and thermodynamics of solutions, to mention only a few topics, as being first class. However, here again one would have to admit that not one of the Canadian graduate schools in chemistry would be placed in the first ten on this continent. The same is true of the other sciences. It is not that there are not good men at the universities or that good work is not being done, but there are not enough first class men at the universities. There is a great need for a number of first class men to be added to the senior teaching staff. This requires money, and some means will have to be found to provide it.

Canada still lags far behind other countries in the liberality of her support for fundamental research. It is true that the National Research Council has aided students very generously for the last thirty years; however, they have been given little or no help at the higher level. It would be in the national interest to support research professorships and to pay part of the salary of suitably qualified professors.

This lack of sufficient first class men is partly due to a steady migration of Canadian scholars to other countries (mainly to the United States; 6,700 in the period 1934-43, according to Bruchesi) and partly due to our failure to replace this loss by attracting outsiders here. The superlative

opportunities in science offered in the States, coupled with salaries from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty per cent higher than they could possibly get in Canada, form an effective barrier to the return of many bright young Canadians who go to do graduate work in the United States.

The general claim is not, then, that science is not good in Canada. It is good, but it could be better, and it must be better if we are to develop this country at the rate expected of a modern nation.

In the *History of Science in Canada*, the excellent work in astronomy at Victoria is mentioned. In mathematics it is stated that progress is conditioned very largely by men from Europe "with a background far beyond what could have been expected of those trained exclusively in Canada". It is said also that many young men who took their graduate work in mathematics in the States stayed there. Another mathematician recently stated: "This country has not yet developed a tradition in theoretical science commensurate with its economic strength, and our resources of men and training are inadequate. The universities must be supported and strengthened in mathematical and theoretical science. There should be a computing centre for Canada".

Canada has always given strong support to Biology and to Agriculture in numerous experimental farms, dominion laboratories and research stations, and it can be said that Canada is now in the forefront of such work in a number of directions. Even here, however, Canadian museums have not been developed as their importance warrants, and there is also a need for a further expansion of research facilities and personnel. It is rather odd that in spite of the many excellent achievements in agriculture, very little work at a Ph.D. level is done in agriculture in Canada, and most of the specialists in agriculture have received their advanced training elsewhere. Possibly one of the reasons is that the government research departments have drained off too many of the good agricultural research men from the universities. Another reason may be that one of the two universities giving the largest number of Ph.D.'s has no College of Agriculture.

In physics, it was felt that progress had been good, considering the stage of development of Canada, but it was hoped that the rate of advance would be accelerated. It was also felt that applied physics was hampered for a long time by relying on the laboratories in the United Kingdom and the United States. While this policy was no doubt dictated by strong economic arguments, it was certainly short-sighted and would spell dependency and inferiority if allowed to go on indefinitely. Actually, during World War II, which took place after the *History of Science in Canada* was written, Canadian physics gave a very good account of itself. However, no one would question the conclusion that Canada could do with more first class physicists and better schools in physics.



## Learned Societies

A recent list contains about 166 scientific and technical societies and institutions.

There is thus no lack of organizations, some of which are quite strong professionally and nationally, but it must be admitted that most of them are badly overshadowed scientifically by their more powerful neighbors to the south. This is particularly obvious when one compares the average level and volume of papers given at Canadian scientific meetings with that of those given at the corresponding American meetings. Incidentally, the level and volume of papers given at American meetings is helped by a number of papers given by Canadians who might very well give better support to their own meetings.

## Publications

There are about 25 scientific publications worthy of the name. These should be able to take care of most of the articles written by our scientists, but it is unfortunately true that many articles, some of them very good, are sent to foreign journals. While there is some merit in sending a few articles to foreign journals, there is still more merit in giving the main support to one's own publications. Actually, the present practice is not particularly dignified since nowadays publishing is expensive and we are allowing citizens of other countries to pay for printing work on which we pride ourselves. Incidentally, they get many indirect benefits from publishing our articles which rightly should come to Canada. "Let George do it" is a very poor policy in Science.

A good mathematics journal has very recently been started, but we have no personal science journal equivalent to *Nature* or *Science*.

## Books

The number of good scientific books written by Canadians is vanishingly small, so much so, that the book agents remark on it.

## National Science Library

There is no National Science Library. Until such time as we get one, the National Research Council does its best to provide books and journals to researchers whose needs are not satisfied by their own libraries.

## Equipment and Supplies

Most of the scientific equipment supply houses are branches of American concerns. Bulk chemicals are largely made in Canada; smaller items come from Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom.

## Recent Trends

A recent trend in Canadian science which must be considered as highly significant is the institution of Post-doctorate Research Fellowships in Chemistry and Physics at the National Research Council. This year there are 33 Fellows in Chemistry and 16 in Physics, top-notch people drawn from all over the world. It should be noted that the Fellowships are well paid and the research facilities good. It is considered that Canada's large government laboratories must operate on as high a scientific plane as university laboratories and that this can be done if a university atmosphere is created. The idea behind this is, of course, a good one, since fundamental research is best done in a university atmosphere. Unfortunately, with the present shortage of scientific personnel in Canada, getting a university atmosphere in Ottawa and Chalk River leaves the Canadian universities in such a rarefied atmosphere that they are positively gasping.

If the Universities are to be able to compete at all successfully with the National Research Council for personnel, it will be necessary to put them at least on an equal footing with the National Research Council as far as Post-doctorate Fellowships are concerned.<sup>1</sup> The situation is aggravated by the fact that not only are the salaries paid by Chalk River and the National Research Council now somewhat better than those paid by the universities, but the research facilities and funds of the former are also in most cases much superior. This has led at least one university president to remark that it is regrettable that the government is always in a position to bid higher than the universities.

It is rather fortunate that some of the larger Canadian industries are now supporting research in the universities by way of fellowships and grants, some of them very generous. It is to be hoped that industry will both continue and augment its support of fundamental investigations with universities.

There has been an increased and permanent demand on our graduate schools, and it is most important that some way be found to increase and strengthen the graduate school facilities in pure and applied science. Dr. C. J. Mackenzie, in a recent speech, suggested that "our young engineers and scientists are not doing half the impossible things of which they are capable", the reason being that they are not being challenged vigorously enough. This seems to be one of the most vital problems of today, and an effort must be made to solve it.

<sup>1</sup>The National Research Council has recently extended the post-doctorate fellowship plan (with certain restrictions, it is true) so that they are tenable in universities.

## EFFECT OF SCIENCE ON CANADIAN UNITY

## Science as a Unifying Agent

It is claimed that science is uniting the world intellectually as has nothing since the early church sent its missionaries and disciples abroad. While this claim may be somewhat exaggerated, it is true that science has become a great international co-operative enterprise, transcending for the most part racial and political barriers. The interchange of scientific information is so necessary and advantageous that science is a very powerful factor in promoting international good will and the realization of the unity of the human race.

## Interchange of Students, Professors, Teachers

At the graduate level there is a great deal of interchange between universities. Many of the science students from the Prairies, for example, go to McGill and Toronto and occasionally to Laval for post-graduate work, and in the last year or so a few have even started to go from East to West.

Interchange of students at the undergraduate level is being stimulated but has not yet reached any appreciable volume although, of course, many students go from one part of Canada to another to take the whole of their undergraduate work.

Transfer of professors from one university to another is common, the faculty of any one university usually having on it representatives from practically all the Canadian universities. Of course, this holds for the Humanities as well as for the Sciences, but transfer is particularly easy in the Sciences.

## National Science Organizations

As was mentioned in an earlier section, there are numerous national science organizations such as the Engineering Institute of Canada, the Chemical Institute of Canada, the Royal Society of Canada and so on. These have national meetings annually at various centres across the country. These meetings are attended by members from one end of the Dominion to the other and do much to aid Canadian unity. Contacts made at these meetings are fostered by correspondence and often develop into firm and lasting friendships, all tending to promote a feeling of understanding for the other parts of Canada.

## National Industries

Many of the scientific industries are nation-wide. Because of the universal nature of science, training that is good for one part of Canada is good in the main for another part of Canada, and we accordingly find



companies, such as the Imperial Oil, not only drawing their men from all over Canada but also shifting them all over Canada. This process again tends to unify the Canadian population and impress them with their sense of oneness. One has only to mention such large companies as Consolidated Mining and Smelting, Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting, Canadian Industries Limited and the Aluminum Company of Canada, to realize how widespread this factor is.

### Communication and Transport

It goes without saying that unity in a country the size of Canada depends above all on communication and transport. Here, science, pure and applied, is indispensable for locomotives, roads, cars, planes, papers, telegraphs, radio, television. All these are very much taken for granted nowadays, but all are a product of science. Their maintenance and improvement depend in a very direct way on the scientific level of the country.

### Mass Media

Canadian science is featured so little in Canadian radio, movies, periodicals and the press that it cannot be said to exert any great unifying influence through these media. However, the proper presentation of Canadian science in these media could lead to an increasing sense of pride in Canadian achievements, resulting in a deeper sense of Canadian unity. How far we have to go in this direction may be seen by comparing the fame of Dr. Pidgeon (who developed a method for making magnesium during the war) with that of Barbara Ann Scott (no need to tell anyone in Canada who she is!).

The Arts may feel themselves neglected, but at least ninety per cent of the time on the air is taken up with music of a sort and probably less than one per cent with science. There are occasional talks on scientific subjects but they are few and far between. Scientific aspects of current affairs are commonly ignored by the popular press, or, if attention is paid to them at all, they are referred to in such a garbled way as to be incomprehensible or misleading. Even the "quality" papers are by no means beyond criticism in this respect. It always seems strange that, whereas experts are employed in reporting financial and sporting matters, to name only two fields of specialized journalistic activity, anything relating to the sciences seems to be left to any available reporter. One trembles to think what would happen if a hockey match were reported by someone with no knowledge of the game.

Journalists often answer this charge by asserting that anything scientific is necessarily incomprehensible, but one cannot help feeling that the editors underrate the public intelligence and range of interest.

## Science in Parliament

Science, by its objectivity, should provide a unifying thread of stability in parliamentary proceedings. A scientific committee has recently been set up to provide some sort of liaison between science and the government of the country. In Parliament itself there are very few scientists. (The Hon. Mr. Howe is an engineer and would presumably qualify as an applied scientist.)

This is not surprising since in 1939, for example, neither the British Cabinet nor its Parliament contained a working scientist and yet they were about to embark on a war in which they would have been lost had not a handful of their scientists developed radar and some good fighter aircraft before the war. It may be argued that the number of scientists in any country is vanishingly small and that therefore in a democracy one would expect correspondingly few ever to reach Parliament. However, the force of this argument decreases when one remembers that while there are not many more lawyers in the country than scientists, the very large majority of our politicians and leaders are lawyers.<sup>1</sup> It is too much to expect any great change in this state of affairs in the near future and perhaps such a change might not even be desirable. Probably the best thing that we can hope for is a general raising of the level of scientific knowledge of the whole populace who will, in time, insist on those in the government having an adequate scientific background. Only a small beginning has been made to use science to improve the quality of decision making, to train individuals to demand evidence, to appraise it skilfully, to allow for limitations in their knowledge and for foreseeable developments.

## Science and National Security

Canada's security depends in large measure on the efficiency of her armed forces and the productivity of her industries. As has been emphasized already, these are dependent in large measure on the scientific level of the country. Thus, a flourishing scientific life in Canada is essential for her existence, let alone unity. One cannot emphasize too often that the strength of any nation, for peace or war, is critically dependent on the strength and quality of its laboratories of pure and applied science.

In order for pure science to thrive it requires both freedom and financial support: freedom of the individual to pursue his own line of research without interference and financial support to ensure progress through the combined and co-ordinated efforts of many men in many laboratories. Pure science usually flourishes in the universities where the atmosphere of freedom has long prevailed. In the universities, fresh young minds come in to continue the search for truth. The costs of research

<sup>1</sup>According to the Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1949, 31% lawyers, 2% engineers, 0% chemists, physicists and mathematicians.

are relatively high compared with the funds available in hard pressed university budgets, but are minute compared with the national defence budget or the funds for the development of weapons.

### Development of Canada and Canadian Resources

Canadian unity is fostered by the development of her resources by her own people. "Background researchers" map and measure and count our resources. This provides some of the material for other workers in the Bureau of Mines and Resources, the Departments of Agriculture and Fisheries, etc., and leads to development of our natural resources. The development of these resources calls for the pooling of experience and helps in many ways towards Canadian unity.

### Science as part of the Canadian Cultural Heritage

The cultural heritage of any Canadian is built in part of the achievements of his forebears in explorations, in heroic struggles against a common enemy, in opening up a new country, in building up industries and cities, in developing art, music, drama and literature, in breaking new ground in science, pure and applied. Canada has many "Firsts" in the applied field and not a few in fundamental science. These achievements are part and parcel of the common cultural heritage of Canadians.

It is thus apparent that there are in science strong forces which could be used to develop Canadian unity. Some of these are being effectively developed already, but it would appear that science could be used to still greater advantage to foster the essential unity of our country.

### INFLUENCES TENDING TO IMPAIR CANADIANISM

Among the influences tending to impair Canadianism is the excessive dependence of Canadian science and Canadian industry on foreign countries.

### Dependence of Canadian Science on Foreign Countries

#### *Postgraduate Study*

Canada is relatively well provided with facilities for graduate work at the Masters' level in all fields of science at a number of universities. The work is, in general, of a high calibre and relatively few Canadians go outside Canada to get a Master's degree. The situation is quite otherwise at the Ph.D. level. Until very recently, Ph.D. work has been largely confined to McGill and Toronto, and any student who did not go to one of these universities had perforce to go to the States or to Europe—actually mostly to the States. Our good students received very generous scholarships from the larger American universities, did well there, and were absorbed



into American scientific life—academic and industrial. This was a straight loss to Canada. If we had had an excess of first class scientists, this transfer would not have been so regrettable. However, we are still extremely short of good scientists in every line of scientific work, and the loss is extremely serious. Not only have we lost in each a good man, but as far as Canada is concerned, the time and money spent in training this person was largely wasted. Naturally, if we were receiving a counterbalancing flow of good people from the States, the traffic would be all to the good, but so far the traffic is practically all one way. Dozens and dozens of examples could be given of superior opportunities and superior salaries proving irresistible to the Canadian scientist.

The Quarterly Reviews of the Bureau of Technical Personnel indicate that about 10 per cent of the engineers graduating from Canadian universities eventually emigrate, and that, on the average, about 2,500 professional workers go from Canada to the United States every year. In the three year period, 1946-1948, no fewer than 249 chemists, 196 college presidents, professors and instructors, 768 engineers, 50 pharmacists and 464 physicians and surgeons emigrated to the United States.

#### *Scientific Periodicals and Books*

Practically all the periodicals and books used by Canadian scientists come from abroad. The dribble from Canada is so small that, even allowing for the size of Canada, it is painfully obvious that we are not making our proper contribution either to world scientific literature or to our own scientific literature. This is bad for Canadian scientific morale and bad for Canada's scientific reputation abroad. Good books by Canadians, e.g., Herzberg's book on spectra, published while he was teaching at a Canadian university, do much for the good name of Canadian science, and the good name and reputation of Canadian science is all important when we wish to attract good men to Canada. It is also of importance if Canada is to play the part she wishes to play in international affairs. The point may be made that good articles by Canadians in American journals also enhance the reputation of Canadian science. While this is partly true, the main effect is to enhance the reputation of the journal (and country) in question, and Canada is altogether the loser.

Incidentally, while science is reasonably international and the basic facts are independent of nationality, a strong national flavour can be injected into many books and is injected into most American texts and periodicals. Where personalities and priorities are in question, American writings are very much biased in favour of the American. This is not to suggest that the facts will be distorted but by mentioning the American names and industries and omitting mention of any others, a very unbalanced picture can be given. To subject Canadian students year in

and year out to these influences is not particularly good for the growth of a wholesome Canadianism.

### *Equipment and Apparatus*

As was pointed out in an earlier section, we are still very dependent on foreign supply houses for larger and more expensive pieces of equipment and apparatus.

### *Ideas*

A number of leading American scientists have recently examined the trends of research in the United States. They point out that many, if not most, of the fundamental ideas in science originated in Europe, and now that many of the European research centres have been destroyed, it becomes imperative to cultivate fundamental research of a high calibre.

The importance of original fundamental research is perhaps best illustrated by one or two examples. The Cavendish laboratory in Cambridge had the good fortune to have a series of brilliant directors such as J. J. Thomson and Rutherford. They attracted to them a host of brilliant young men and between them produced a steady stream of original and fundamental scientific ideas.

In this country, a number of similar examples could be given, such as the Banting Laboratory, the Toronto Physics Laboratory at the time of McLennan, and the Neurological Institute under Penfield at McGill. It seems possible that the recent change in emphasis at the National Research Council is a direct effort to develop the same spirit in some of the divisions in Ottawa and Chalk River.

To have fundamental research flourishing in Canada is sufficiently important that it cannot be left to chance. It has too often happened that a laboratory turned out first class work while under the influence of one or perhaps two good men and then sank into mediocrity when the good man went or retired. Every effort must be made to have key positions filled with first rank people. Apparently it quite often happens that those responsible for top level decisions concerning appointments in government laboratories and universities really do not know what "first class" means and are not aware of the fact that departments which are thought locally to be very good are really just second rate.

## Dependence of Canadian Industry on Foreign Countries

### *Research and Development*

A great many of the industrial firms in Canada operate as branch plants of a parent company in Great Britain or the United States. As a result, research and development are largely carried out by the parent organization and the opportunities which the industry would normally be

expected to provide for Canadians are provided for Americans. This is particularly true at the executive and research level. Even where the branch plant is allowed to do some research, the research is usually quite tightly controlled by the parent company and may be diverted or cut off completely depending on the requirements of the parent company. Examples of this occurred about a year ago in the chemical industry when there seemed to be some likelihood of a business recession.

### *Capital*

The parent companies in the United States supply not only indispensable technology and "know how" but often the dollars needed to import machinery and equipment from the United States. By 1932, United States' direct investments were responsible for one-quarter of all manufacturing, over one-third of mining, one-third of electric power and two-thirds of natural gas output. The United States also had a large influence in variety stores and motion pictures. In manufacturing, the United States controlled 82 per cent of the automotive industry, 68 per cent of the electrical appliances industry, 65 per cent of rubber products, 50 per cent of non-ferrous metals, 44 per cent of non-metallic minerals, 41 per cent of chemicals, etc. On the other hand, transportation, communication, finances, merchandising and hotels are largely Canadian controlled.

In 1946, 30 per cent of the total investment in Canadian manufacturing concerns was American as compared to 25 per cent in 1932. American control still predominated in such important industries as the manufacture of automobiles, petroleum, non-ferrous metals and chemicals.

From the point of view of the broader economic and social implications, American control may reach a state where Canada will be merely an economic appendage to the States. The very high percentage of Americans among the management personnel of branch plants already limits the opportunities available to Canadians for executive careers. In the long run, the turning over of rich material resources of wood, minerals, etc., for large scale exploitation to meet the industrial needs of the United States, may prove to be an expensive way of obtaining exchange.

### Export of Scientists

In addition to losing scientists at the Ph.D. level we also continue to lose top ranking scientists at a higher level, for example, to Great Britain—Plaskett, Marian, Cameron and others; to the States—Zinn, Weldon Brown, Dynes and many others.

### Influence of Foreign Press, Radio, Films

The very strong influence of the foreign press, radio and films, particularly from the United States, threatens to engulf our whole cultural



life. Since the effect on science is relatively small compared to the effect on the arts and letters, the point will not be labored further here. Perhaps we should mention that Canadian industry is very much affected by the high pressure advertising of American products by radio, film and press. They are more or less obliged to conform to American tastes and standards whether this is good for Canada or not.

### Size of Population

With a population far too small either to fill the country or develop its natural resources fully, we are bound to be very dependent on outside sources for capital, development, research, ideas, equipment, etc. This dependence on outside sources is detrimental to developing a full Canadianism. A strong immigration policy is an absolute necessity.

### Resumé

The effect of foreign influences is thus of a multiple nature. It robs us of many of our best scientists whom we can ill afford to lose; by controlling a large portion of our industries, it exploits Canadian resources in a manner not necessarily to the best advantage of Canada and denies young Canadians many of the opportunities which would otherwise be theirs; by supplying most of our scientific books and literature, it gives scientific education a cultural slant not necessarily in the best interests of Canadianism.

## ACTION TO BE TAKEN TO FOSTER THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENCES IN CANADA

The foregoing sections have indicated the paramount importance of a flourishing scientific life in Canada if Canada is to maintain her position in world affairs and if, indeed, she is to survive as a nation. Of equal importance is the development in every Canadian of an appreciation of the role of science and of its value in understanding the nature of the world in which we live.

### Schools

A continuing study should be made of the teaching of science in public and high schools. Complaints that insufficient attention is paid to the experimental aspect of science in schools and to some aspects of science, such as biology, would indicate that such a study could profitably be made.

It is true also that many of the science teachers have had very little specialized training in science and that much could be done to develop in science teachers a professional attitude towards their subject as well as to their profession. The establishment of a Science Teachers Association

might be helpful. Of prime importance is the raising of the standards of the teaching profession as a whole, and presumably this has been dealt with in other submissions.

### Universities

Raising the quality of science teaching and scientific research in the universities is largely a matter of finance. It is imperative that money be found to increase university staffs to the point where good research men are not worn down with too much teaching. It is of equal importance that money be found to pay adequate salaries to retain first class men in the universities and to attract first-class men from elsewhere. Funds should also be available to allow exchange of staff between institutions and to allow staff to attend scientific meetings.

A system of Federal grants to universities, similar to the universities' grants in the United Kingdom, should be established immediately. In 1947, the Universities' Grants Committees in Great Britain allocated about eleven million pounds to the universities in addition to a very generous sum for capital expenditure. Grants may also be given by the Universities' Grants Committee to a member of a university staff who is especially well qualified in any particular subject, to enable him to build up in his laboratory a corps of workers in that field. This latter principle might well be adopted by the National Research Council as an extension of their grants-in-aid policy.

It is also of importance to see that worthwhile scholarships are available to enable promising young scientists to continue post-graduate work at home and abroad. The establishment of post-doctorate fellowships at the National Research Council is a move in the right direction.

Steps should also be taken to see that certain gaps in our graduate training are filled; for example, we still lack good graduate schools in Agriculture, Forestry and Chemical Engineering, to name just three. Filling these gaps would help to stem the flow of post-graduate students to the United States.

This emphasis on stemming the flow of post-graduate students to the United States should not be construed as a drive to stop foreign study altogether. Actually, when a science graduate has his Ph. D. and has worked in a Canadian institution for two or three years, it is very desirable that he have the opportunity of travelling.

An additional problem is presented by the fact that Canadian education has not yet solved the problem of preparing men for research on the new developments required by industry. The traditional training of an engineer is to familiarize him with the accepted method of performing important industrial processes. He is rarely introduced into the search for new methods. On the other hand, the research scientist searches for new

facts but has not learned the value of concerning himself with the things of practical use. Our post-war universities must develop an education that will supply the men so urgently needed for solving the new technical problems of industry.

In order better to assess the standing of scientific research and training in Canada, a suitable survey should be made, paralleling those made of government expenditures in science. It is understood that such a survey was attempted a year or so ago but was dropped for lack of response.

The science courses given to non-science students are also of importance in a scientific age in which the results of science affect our everyday living. Administrators in business and government have to meet with scientists and make decisions which depend on scientific judgements. It is important that they understand the scientist's point of view and be able to assess his judgements. We are fast approaching the stage when every educated person should understand science well enough to work with scientists and perhaps take something of science into his own life. Thus, the non-science student should be given courses which will give him an understanding of or a sympathy for sciences. The aim should be to produce a sympathetic non-scientist who has seen experiment and theory and critical argument used in building up a structure of knowledge. The course should mediate between the layman and the scientist, between classical culture and scientific civilization. The teachers in such courses would need to be trained in several of the sciences and in the history of science and philosophy.

### The Public

What is true for the non-science student at the university is true to a lesser degree for the public in general. Where many matters of national importance are of a scientific nature, it is of importance that the public have a general understanding of science. A general understanding of science could be cultivated directly by scientific organizations, such as the Royal Society of Arts and Letters, and by extension type work for special groups, such as the farmer. Quite obviously the farmer cannot be expected to make the best use of advances in scientific agriculture unless he has some understanding of science.

In a less direct, but much more powerful way, science could be introduced to the public by way of mass media—press, radio and films. It is particularly important that Canadian Science be presented to the public through these media, since our proximity to the United States subjects us to a continual barrage of propaganda in magazines, press, radio and films about the wonders of American science, whether it be in direct articles about science or in advertisements about American airplanes, American telephones, etc., etc.



## Press, Radio and Films

The press is extremely important. Sensational science news is always there but science reporting, as a regular feature like sports, society, etc., is almost unknown.

It seems highly desirable that scientific and technical advisors be attached to each newspaper. The newspapers might well pay some editorial attention to science from time to time.

In science news reporting, Canada lags far behind the United States where a Science News Service is well established. It should be possible to set up a Canadian Science News Service. Such a news service could collect the latest scientific information and disseminate it to the press, radio, etc. It could also help producers of films, exhibits, etc., with reliable information.

To date, the radio has been very little used to spread a knowledge of science. Very occasionally, a talk on some timely topic is given but there is nothing like a regular science feature. An examination of a recent issue of the *C.B.C. Times* revealed only one definitely science talk, *Science Reporter* from Toronto, with a talk about jet propulsion. It is possible that a bad week was chosen (January 20, 1950) but at least it indicates that science is scarcely over-emphasized on the radio.

Naturally, such science features would have to be properly prepared since not all experts are good on the radio. Possibly a Science Radio Committee is needed to prepare, co-ordinate and direct science policy.

Television could be used with great effectiveness in science talks since most people take a great interest in seeing things in scientific laboratories. Famous scientists might also be brought occasionally to the television screen.

## Films

The value of films as an aid to teaching science is well realized and a number of films on scientific subjects are available. There is also a National Science Film Committee. The National Film Board should be encouraged to make films depicting the role of science in Canadian life.

## Museums

With one or two notable exceptions, the larger Canadian cities and the universities are very poorly equipped with museums. A good museum that is well run can serve as a centre of interest to the whole community and serve a very valuable purpose in promoting Canadian unity.

The usual museum deals with the life sciences rather than the physical sciences. An up to date museum should have exhibits demonstrating the fundamental principles of science, new discoveries, applications to

everyday living and the social implications of science generally. Such a museum could feature talks and films and prepare well illustrated pamphlets on topics of interest.

Part of the difficulty in presenting science to the public is the specialization of science itself and the complexity of its civic organization, both of which are baffling to the public. Another difficulty is that a sort of social hierarchy has grown up among scientists that imposes a certain mild caution and conservatism about publicity. There would thus seem to be a need for a new popular science expositor or science publicist. He need not be a scientist proper but he would need to know a good deal about it. He would fill an extremely important position since, due to the specialization of science, there is a real danger that scientific information may come to be regarded as something separate from what the layman calls "common sense knowledge" and that science itself may be treated as something outside the scope of, or even antagonistic to, the humanities. The Member of Parliament who when asked his opinion of the atomic energy film which he had just seen, replied that it was interesting but scientific—and therefore he could not be expected to understand it—was adopting an attitude which is still common among people who would never admit a lack of appreciation of art or music or an inability to understand the complex jargon of the race course or the stock exchange. One of the main tasks is to break down this barrier by showing that science is not an esoteric cult but an important component in the structure of our common affairs and that scientific ideas form an integral part of the pattern of our thoughts.

#### Canadian Periodicals, Books and Journals

Steps should be taken to strengthen the Canadian scientific journals and to establish journals in those branches of science where Canadian journals are not now available. Canadian scientists should be encouraged to write books by providing them with the necessary time for writing and, where necessary, with financial assistance.

#### National Science Library

There is at the moment no National Library and no National Science Library. The establishment of a National Science Library as part of a National Library is long overdue.

#### Canadian Scientific Organizations

With the enormous distances involved in Canada, attending national meetings of a scientific organization is usually an expensive business. It might well be considered whether it would not be in the national interest to subsidize, in some way, the travel expenses of delegates from a dis-

tance. The Government has no hesitation in putting floors under all sorts of commodities when it seems in the national interest (or politically expedient) to do so, and supporting Canadian science would be a relatively inexpensive procedure which might well be expected to yield returns of national value.

All the foregoing topics relate to the stimulation of science education in Canada and should probably be taken care of by a Canadian National Science Foundation.

It is realized that education is, in a general way, reserved for the Provinces under the B.N.A. Act. However, scientific training and research at the graduate level is, in fact, a Dominion concern since research and industry are mainly national in scope. There should therefore be no objection, from the point of view of the B. N. A. Act, for Dominion support of scientific training and research, particularly at the graduate level.

The Americans have realized that it pays a nation to push its development in science on at least as great a financial scale as it pays to push, say, the development of next year's automobile models. It should pay us no less.

#### Defence Research

Defence research is already supporting basic research programs at certain universities. This policy might well be extended since not only does it give financial support to suitable researchers but, if properly handled, it has a potentially invaluable impact upon the orientation of officers toward the use of science in warfare.

#### Research, Development and Control in Industry

Fundamentally, this is the one most important single factor in the Canadian scientific picture. If more of the Canadian industries were controlled by Canadians, more research and development would be done by Canadians, Canadian scientists would be in greater demand and the whole process would snowball to the great advantage of Canadian science. Presumably nothing very much can be done about Canada gaining control of plants now owned by the United States and Great Britain but something could be done about the amount of research and development done in Canadian branch plants of foreign firms. These branch plants are obviously not here for purely philanthropic reasons and if we allow them to profit by our national resources we should at least see that we have our people get the experience of developing these resources.

When New Zealand butter, or some other agricultural product, is brought into Canada there is a terrific howl of protest from all quarters, but, when Americans make "heavy water" at Trail or see after the uranium at Great Bear Lake or put in radar and loran stations in the north, not



a boo is heard. It would almost appear that our government leaders have at times no appreciation of science or realization of the science potential in Canada. They certainly do not seem to realize that in order to develop a scientist for certain jobs, particularly big ones, the scientist must have experience and that the only way he can get experience is by being allowed to do certain jobs. In the atomic energy project, to take only one example, foreign scientists were placed in some key positions where they (instead of Canadians) gained million dollar experience. Of course, most of them have since been replaced by Canadians but that valuable experience was lost. Such examples could be multiplied many times.

### Attracting Scholars to Canada

The point has already been made that, until recently, Canada has persistently failed to retain a large fraction of her ablest citizens, and if proof were needed for this, Brebner quotes in his book on *Scholarship for Canada*, that in 1944 there were at only twenty American universities no less than 350 Canadian born teachers. It has been aptly said that the "wealth of a nation consists more than in anything else in the number of superior men that it harbors", and if this be true, the Canadian universities should start at once to woo back the best scholars whom they have lost. An effort should also be made to make Canada so cordial and attractive a place that those who excel in any field, whether technology or arts, will be powerfully reinforced in their natural inclination to live and work at home.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) In order to implement the foregoing, it would appear that the equivalent of a "Steelman Report" for Canada is necessary. This report would cover the relationship of science to public policy, the federal research program, and manpower requirements for research.

(2) There is an immediate need for a rapid increase in the expenditures for research—both fundamental and applied.

(3) Federal support for research at Universities and nonprofit institutions must be substantially increased.<sup>1</sup>

(4) Federal assistance, by way of national scholarships, should be extended to undergraduates as well as graduates.

(5) Provision should be made for fellowships for Canadians to travel abroad and for foreign students to come to Canada.

<sup>1</sup>Actually what is really needed (shades of the B.N.A. Act notwithstanding) is an increase of general support to the universities, which could then strengthen their staffs with good men, who would then need more support for the research which they would do.

(6) Federal assistance to Universities and Colleges for apparatus and facilities should be greatly increased.

(7) Means should be found for Federal support of Universities either through direct grants or by support of Research Professorships.

(8) A Canadian National Science Foundation should be set up to implement some of the above items.

(9) Steps should be taken to make science a part of our common culture through the radio, the press and films.

(10) A National Science Library should be established as part of a National Library.

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## LES SCIENCES

LÉON LORTIE

**L**ES progrès des sciences physiques et du génie ont profondément transformé l'aspect du monde moderne et le Canada, principalement au cours du demi-siècle écoulé, a profité de ce développement prodigieux de la science et des techniques.

L'art de l'ingénieur, transposant sur le plan industriel les découvertes et les inventions nombreuses qui virent le jour au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, a mis en valeur les vastes ressources dont notre pays est richement doté. L'économie canadienne, presque exclusivement agricole au début du siècle, a brûlé, avec la première guerre, les étapes de la révolution industrielle.

Par ailleurs, les apports de la science constituent une partie du trésor accumulé de l'héritage intellectuel de l'humanité. Ils ont une valeur culturelle dont on ne saurait oublier l'importance. Plus que jamais notre civilisation porte leur empreinte et, pour nous guider dans l'avenir, il est impérieux que l'homme cultivé connaisse les ressources de la pensée scientifique.

C'est à ce double point de vue de leur valeur économique et de leur aspect culturel que notre étude va envisager l'état actuel des sciences physiques, chimiques et techniques au Canada. S'il est vrai que, dans l'ensemble, les méthodes de la science et les procédés de la technique sont les mêmes, le caractère de ceux qui s'en servent et qui contribuent à leur avancement se reflète dans les cadres et dans les structures où ils choisissent d'évoluer. Le caractère bi-culturel du Canada s'y révélera forcément.

On avait tenté, sous le régime français, de mettre à profit les ressources naturelles du Canada. Ces essais furent plus ou moins fructueux. L'échec partiel de ces initiatives est dû, pour une part, à l'incompétence de ceux qu'on chargea de leur exécution et, d'autre part, à l'opposition de certains intérêts qui agissaient contre elles dans la métropole.

Ce n'est toutefois que dans les premières années du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle que les sciences physiques s'implantèrent au Canada. Elles venaient d'ailleurs de subir une profonde évolution en Europe, et c'est en Angleterre et en France, ainsi qu'aux Etats-Unis, que des Canadiens allèrent puiser les connaissances qu'ils enseignèrent ensuite à leurs compatriotes. Des ingénieurs faisant partie de l'armée anglaise firent les premiers relevés



géologiques. Les habitants du pays manifestèrent en même temps une belle activité. De nombreux collèges, venant s'ajouter au Séminaire de Québec, naissaient alors, préparant l'avènement des grandes universités de l'est du Canada. Dans toutes ces institutions, de façon inégale sans doute, l'enseignement des sciences progressait. Aussi bien dans les universités de langue anglaise que dans celles de langue française, les maîtres qui ont donné une impulsion marquée à l'étude des sciences n'étaient pas nés au Canada. L'Ecole Polytechnique est la première en date de ces écoles de génie, sa fondation remontant à 1873. Viennent ensuite celles de McGill et de Toronto. Les débuts furent modestes, parfois difficiles, mais le progrès fut constant et, au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'autres écoles ou facultés de sciences appliquées s'ajoutèrent à ces institutions bien établies.

L'essor de la recherche scientifique ne date guère que des années 1890 alors que H. L. Callender, puis Ernest Rutherford furent les premiers titulaires de la chaire de physique dotée par W. C. Macdonald à l'Université McGill. A Toronto, J. C. McLennan, né au Canada, fut au même moment un professeur réputé et l'organisateur de la recherche. Ces maîtres n'avaient que peu de disciples car l'enseignement universitaire était alors le privilège d'un petit nombre d'étudiants.

Peu de temps avant la première grande guerre, des hommes éclairés s'intéressaient à l'exploitation scientifique des ressources naturelles du pays. Il s'inquiétaient que si peu de jeunes Canadiens fussent en mesure de participer à cette mise en valeur. La Commission royale qui, en 1912, fit enquête sur l'enseignement technique, provoqua l'opinion publique. Le Conseil national de recherches, qui dut à la guerre d'être fondé plus tôt qu'on ne l'avait espéré, fut sans doute aussi le fruit plus ou moins lointain de ces préoccupations.

Le Canada connaissait alors une expansion industrielle dont on se demandait si elle survivrait aux conditions anormales qu'avait créées le premier conflit mondial. Le progrès, s'il fut momentanément ralenti à la cessation des hostilités, reprit bientôt et put même se maintenir malgré les temps troublés par la dépression économique. L'influence du Conseil national de recherches se fit heureusement sentir à cette époque. L'élan donné à l'enseignement des sciences et à la recherche fut intensifié en même temps que grandissait la puissance industrielle au pays.

On fut heureux de cette réussite lorsque éclata le second conflit mondial car le Canada pouvait alors compter, à l'encontre de ce qui s'était passé vingt-cinq ans plus tôt, sur un grand nombre de physiciens, de chimistes et d'ingénieurs compétents qui, dans les laboratoires et les usines, soutinrent un effort de guerre qu'on aurait pu croire au-dessus des forces d'un pays si peu peuplé.

De nombreux facteurs concourent à favoriser l'avancement de la

science et des techniques. Il faut naturellement qu'un pays dispose d'une population intelligente. Le Canada ne le cède à nul autre à cet égard. Nous étudierons principalement les facteurs extrinsèques que sont l'enseignement, les établissements de recherche, les besoins de l'industrie et de l'Etat, les sociétés et les publications scientifiques et, enfin, l'opinion publique.

Dans quelle mesure ces divers facteurs ont-ils joué au Canada, quel est le résultat de leur action, c'est ce que nous tenterons maintenant d'illustrer par des exemples concrets.

L'enseignement des sciences physiques précède nécessairement celle du génie. De sa qualité dépend l'orientation que prendront les jeunes gens à leur sortie des écoles secondaires. Il nous faudra ici, pour la première fois, introduire une distinction afin de rendre justice à deux systèmes d'enseignement, celui des écoles de langue anglaise et celui des institutions de langue française.

Quoique manquant d'uniformité dans l'ensemble du pays, ce qui n'est pas nécessairement un tort puisque cela répond aux besoins particuliers de chaque province, l'enseignement dans les écoles de langue anglaise présente de nombreuses analogies. Une des fonctions des high schools est de préparer les jeunes gens à entrer à l'Université. Selon la carrière qu'ils veulent embrasser et la faculté où ils désirent s'inscrire, les étudiants des high schools peuvent exercer certaines options et il arrive qu'un bon nombre d'entre eux n'apprennent jamais que les rudiments des sciences physiques; ceux qui s'intéressent à ces sciences laisseront de côté des sujets qui leur auraient inculqué le goût d'une culture plus étendue compatible avec leurs aptitudes scientifiques.

Il existe trop peu de manuels spécifiquement adaptés aux besoins des étudiants canadiens. Les ressources de notre pays, les réalisations de nos compatriotes, les exemples tirés de notre propre économie seraient d'un précieux secours pour faire mieux comprendre l'ampleur de la tâche qui s'impose à la jeunesse de notre pays. C'est particulièrement au niveau de l'enseignement secondaire qu'on sent le besoin d'un tel enseignement approprié à nos besoins.

Si l'enseignement des high schools ne parvient pas à fournir à ces jeunes gens le minimum de science qu'on est en droit d'espérer d'un homme vivant au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'université comblera-t-elle cette lacune? Pourra-t-elle, d'un autre côté, suppléer au manque de formation générale des étudiants en science et en génie? On se plaint en maints endroits, dans le monde universitaire, de l'orientation trop hâtive qu'on impose à la jeunesse et de l'impossibilité où on s'est trouvé, dans presque tous les cas, d'y remédier. La situation n'est certes pas aussi grave qu'elle l'était aux Etats-Unis avant les réformes instaurées par les idées de Hutchins

mais on trouvera dans le bel ouvrage de Kirkconnell et Woodhouse,<sup>1</sup> un état de la question et des efforts qu'on a faits en certains milieux pour redresser cette situation.

Indépendamment de ce qu'on pourrait appeler ce vice fondamental, peut-on dire que le niveau de l'enseignement des sciences physiques est satisfaisant dans les institutions de langue anglaise? Si on compare les conditions d'admission dans les universités d'Angleterre et du Canada, on est forcé de constater que le niveau est ici plus bas qu'outre-Atlantique. Cela dépend sans doute de l'application d'une philosophie de l'éducation, dont il ne nous appartient pas de faire le procès, qui tend de plus en plus à exiger de moins en moins des élèves de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire.

Malgré ce handicap dont les effets se font sentir surtout en première année, les universités parviennent, dans les cours de science, à inculquer à leurs étudiants une somme de connaissances scientifiques spécialisées qui, si elle est encore inférieure à celle que possèdent les étudiants d'Angleterre, est généralement plus imposante que celle dont peut se vanter l'étudiant moyen des universités américaines. Le cours spécialisé dit Honours Course est d'un niveau scientifique réellement élevé dans toutes les universités canadiennes.

Le cours de génie est aussi très bon. On déplore souvent que la culture générale y soit négligée, quoique certaines universités y aient introduit des sujets de nature à orienter l'esprit vers des préoccupations étrangères à la technique. On s'attache presque partout à spécialiser très tôt les études, bien qu'on cherche à donner à tous un enseignement fondamental qui servira de base à l'acquisition des connaissances propres au spécialiste. Le résultat, du point de vue technique, paraît excellent si on en juge par les œuvres qu'ont accomplies les ingénieurs canadiens.

Dans les institutions de langue française on a voulu avant tout sauvegarder la culture générale. L'étude des sciences est venue, sur le tard, prendre sa place dans des programmes qui n'avaient pas prévu pour elle un tel développement. Les efforts sincères qu'on a faits depuis une trentaine d'années commencent de porter leurs fruits, et les résultats obtenus sont certes magnifiques, mais on cherche encore la formule qui intégrera définitivement les études scientifiques dans un ensemble qui sera toujours marqué par la primauté de la culture générale. Au cours classique, tous les étudiants doivent être initiés à l'étude de la physique et de la chimie, et ceux qui se destinent aux carrières médicales et du génie choisissent l'option où ils peuvent acquérir une formation plus étendue et plus solide dans ces matières.

Le cours primaire supérieur, dont l'économie se rapproche de celle des high schools, est d'origine récente. En vingt-cinq ans il a fait la preuve

<sup>1</sup>The Humanities in Canada, par W. Kirkconnell et A. S. P. Woodhouse, 1947.



de son utilité principalement dans l'option scientifique, et il est à la veille de subir une évolution qui devrait le rendre plus efficace encore. On a voulu lui imprimer, dans la mesure du possible, le caractère de généralité que possède le cours classique. L'école primaire supérieure mérite qu'on la considère, à l'égal du high school, comme étant du niveau secondaire tandis que les quatre dernières années du cours classique sont sur le même plan, mais avec des modalités différentes, que l'enseignement universitaire donné dans le "College Course" des "Faculties of Arts and Science".

Les diplômés du cours classique et du cours primaire supérieur sont admis dans les facultés des sciences et de génie des universités de langue française. Pour les premiers il n'est pas question de leur imposer des cours de culture générale. On tâche de donner aux seconds les compléments, surtout philosophiques, dont l'acquisition doit mûrir l'esprit. Sauf cette différence, l'enseignement des sciences dans les universités de langue française ressemble à ce qu'on fait dans les institutions de langue anglaise. Le seul véritable problème est de savoir comment on pourrait agencer l'enseignement des sciences au cours classique afin de l'intégrer plus facilement dans le cours des facultés des sciences et épargner aux bacheliers des collèges classiques des années d'études qui constituent un handicap de deux années par rapport à leurs camarades des autres universités canadiennes.

L'Ecole Polytechnique et la Faculté des Sciences de l'Université Laval n'ont pas la même conception quant à la formation de l'ingénieur. La première croit à la vertu d'une large base fondamentale supportant un minimum de spécialisation, tandis que Laval tient à mettre sur le marché des ingénieurs nettement spécialisés.

Les carrières scientifiques et le génie n'attirent pas encore un nombre suffisant de jeunes canadiens de langue française. Des statistiques récentes montrent que, dans l'ensemble du pays, la proportion des ingénieurs par rapport à la population est de 1 à 400 tandis que, chez les Canadiens de langue française, elle est environ six fois moindre. Bien qu'elle ait une tendance à s'améliorer, cette situation cause des inquiétudes aux éducateurs, aux économistes et aux sociologues. On cherche à connaître les causes d'un tel état de choses et les raisons qui empêchent tant de jeunes talents de s'intéresser aux carrières du génie et de la science appliquée. On s'efforce à les intéresser davantage à des études qui leur permettront de participer au développement industriel d'une province riche en ressources naturelles de toute sorte et de s'intégrer dans l'effort gigantesque du Canada tout entier.

La recherche scientifique est la vie même de la science. Toutes les universités exigent naturellement l'exécution d'un travail de recherche pour la préparation de la maîtrise et du doctorat. On exige aussi que

l'étudiant suit des cours qui comblent les lacunes de sa formation et contribuent à le spécialiser dans la branche de la science où il poursuit ses recherches. Presque toutes, sinon toutes les universités canadiennes, ont des laboratoires de recherche. Quelques-uns ont acquis une réputation internationale et ils attirent de nombreux étudiants étrangers.

Depuis quelques années plusieurs universités ont fondé ce qu'on appelle une "Graduate Faculty" où s'inscrivent les candidats aux grades supérieurs. Chacune procède avec prudence et n'entreprend que ce qu'elle est sûre de mener à bonne fin. Car la formation des chercheurs est une besogne délicate. La nature des programmes de baccalauréat impose qu'on exige des candidats à la maîtrise et au doctorat des cours supplémentaires en même temps qu'ils accomplissent leurs travaux de recherche. Ces derniers sont peut-être encore plus suivis et plus fructueux dans de petites institutions où le maître n'a que quelques élèves mais le petit nombre d'étudiants rend alors difficile l'organisation des cours avancés.

Dans une remarquable étude, le professeur D. L. Thomson résume ce qu'on peut penser des études de doctorat dans les universités nord-américaines<sup>1</sup>:

*"Many harsh things have been said, some of them justly, about the Ph.D. training as offered in North America today. It is certain that not all of its products are well-rounded scholars; not all have the equipment of the successful teacher, nor the brilliant innovator. It does, however, nearly always enable Faculties that award this degree to identify those few students who possess these exceptional qualifications; and I hope that those who are speaking from the point of view of applied science will bear me out, if I suggest that it gives to the more ordinary candidate a breadth of view, a flexibility of usefulness, that make him on the average more valuable, to industry and industrial research than he would have been after any other system of training yet devised. I do not suggest that improvement is impossible, it is even imperative; I do suggest that on the whole we are on the right lines".*

L'opinion d'une telle autorité en la matière nous dispense d'insister sur ce sujet. Les universités du Canada sont toutes relativement jeunes et l'organisation de la recherche en vue du doctorat y est encore tout récente. La situation s'améliorera à mesure que les conditions que leur impose l'état général de l'enseignement au pays s'améliorera. Mais on pourrait se demander si la tendance qu'on a d'exiger de moins en moins des élèves des écoles primaires et secondaires ne viendra pas à l'encontre de ce que souhaitent les universités.

La recherche scientifique devient rapidement une entreprise coûteuse et le budget de plusieurs universités ploie sous le fardeau qu'elle impose. Pour qu'elle obère moins des ressources qui vont par ailleurs en diminuant

<sup>1</sup>Dans *Research in Canada*, 1946.

on accepte parfois des octrois industriels qui obligent maîtres et élèves à étudier des problèmes ne relevant pas de la compétence d'une institution académique. Les professeurs risquent d'y perdre leur liberté d'esprit et les étudiants, au lieu d'apprendre les méthodes fondamentales de la recherche scientifique, s'habituent à tout considérer sous l'angle du résultat immédiatement utile.

Les octrois accordés par l'Etat par l'intermédiaire de ses conseils de recherche n'imposent pas généralement des conditions aussi préjudiciables à l'indépendance des chercheurs. Mais ces octrois n'allègent pas le fardeau des universités. Ils ne défraient guère que le coût de la recherche elle-même, laissant aux universités le soin de voir à la construction et à l'entretien des locaux ainsi qu'aux frais administratifs que cette activité encourt.

Malgré les conditions qui leur sont imposées par les circonstances, les universités canadiennes ont acquis une réputation enviable par les travaux que publient leurs professeurs et leurs étudiants. Il serait trop long de mentionner tous les sujets de recherche qui sont en cours actuellement ou qui ont attiré jadis l'attention sur certains laboratoires. Nous pouvons au moins rappeler que la physique des radiations de toute sorte, la thermodynamique, la cinétique chimique, l'électrochimie, la chimie organique, la physique moléculaire, l'étude des basses températures, l'électronique, les machines thermiques, la dynamique des fluides, la résistance des matériaux, la métallurgie, et bien d'autres sujets classiques sont à l'étude dans les laboratoires des facultés des sciences et de génie des universités canadiennes.

Les besoins de l'enseignement et de la recherche scientifiques ont nécessité, depuis la fin de la guerre, la construction de nouveaux pavillons très modernes, et les universités n'ont pas hésité à faire les frais de toutes ces installations. Elles ont pu compter sur la générosité du public, qui a bien répondu aux appels qu'on lui a faits. Les campagnes de souscription, où les entreprises commerciales et industrielles ont figuré avec honneur, suppléent aux dotations qu'on avait l'habitude d'espérer de la part des individus fortunés. Les gouvernements provinciaux ont aussi largement fait leur part à ce propos. Il reste que ces constructions nouvelles ajoutent au budget des sommes importantes pour subvenir à leur entretien et à leur fonctionnement, alors que les revenus ordinaires suffisent à peine et ne parviennent pas toujours à assurer le fonctionnement de ce qui existait déjà.

Les laboratoires de l'Etat et de l'industrie méritent un traitement que nous voudrions pouvoir leur accorder. L'ampleur que prend le Conseil national de recherches défie cependant la brièveté qui nous est imposée. Nous devons donc nous contenter de quelques aperçus très généraux. Le Conseil national de recherches possède plusieurs établissements à



Ottawa, il en a un qui fonctionne à Chalk River, où se trouvent les laboratoires de physique et de chimie nucléaires, un autre à Saskatoon et un troisième s'élève à Halifax. Son personnel est nombreux, il atteignait presque 2800 employés en 1949, et il compte près de deux cents chercheurs munis des titres de maître ou de docteur sur un total de 538 personnes poursuivant des recherches dans ses multiples services. En dehors de ses murs, le Conseil subventionne des centaines de projets de recherche qu'on étudie principalement dans les universités.

D'origine plus récente, le Conseil national de la Défense a aussi ses propres laboratoires et des projets à l'étude dans les laboratoires universitaires.

On ne saurait passer sous silence les très beaux laboratoires du Service des Mines où la physique, la chimie, la métallurgie et le génie se sont alliés pour l'étude scientifique de l'exploitation des mines et de la métallurgie physique.

La plupart des gouvernements provinciaux, en plus des laboratoires particuliers de certains ministères, ont organisé des Conseils de recherches qui poursuivent leurs propres travaux ou qui subventionnent les chercheurs dans les laboratoires universitaires. L'Ecole Polytechnique de Montréal a fondé un Centre de Recherches qui combine les facilités d'un laboratoire universitaire et celles d'un organisme qui offre aux industriels et aux gouvernements les ressources d'un personnel et d'un équipement bien au point.

Il n'y a pas très longtemps que l'industrie canadienne s'est lancée dans un grand programme de recherche. On compte cependant plus de 900 entreprises qui possèdent des laboratoires de recherche ou de contrôle. De ce nombre, une trentaine sont d'assez vastes proportions et emploient, avec les services de l'Etat, la majorité des chercheurs diplômés des universités canadiennes. La coopération de ces divers organismes a valu au Canada des industries nouvelles et le progrès rapide de plusieurs autres: les pâtes et papiers, la métallurgie, les substances plastiques et les élastomères, la chimie des dérivés de l'acétylène et des goudrons, l'aéronautique doivent à la recherche d'être ce qu'elles sont devenues dans un si court laps de temps.

Les besoins de l'industrie et de l'état régissent, dans l'ensemble, le progrès de la science et des techniques. Les problèmes que pose l'industrie moderne sont du ressort des savants et des ingénieurs. Ceux-ci sont déjà indispensables à la bonne marche des usines, des moyens de transport et de communication. De son côté, l'Etat se doit de faire sa part pour assurer la connaissance et l'exploitation rationnelle des ressources naturelles. Un pays comme le nôtre est un paradis pour l'ingénieur et il présente des possibilités sans nombre pour l'avancement de la science.

Quelques statistiques illustreront ce qui précède. Lors du recensement

de 1941 on comptait au Canada quelque 20,500 ingénieurs quand il n'y en avait qu'environ 2,500 au début du siècle. De 1940 à 1950, une quinzaine de mille ingénieurs sont sortis des écoles de génie; le recensement de 1951 devrait compter plus de 30,000 ingénieurs. En 1901, la proportion des ingénieurs à la population totale était de 1 à 2000; elle est maintenant presque cinq fois plus grande. Le besoin d'ingénieurs croît constamment; la tâche des ingénieurs n'est plus limitée à des fonctions techniques. En plus de diverses branches qui se sont différenciées: génie civil, mécanique, électrique, chimique et géologique, il faut noter que les postes les plus élevés dans l'administration des entreprises vont de plus en plus à des ingénieurs sortis des rangs.

Parallèlement à cette évolution du génie, on peut montrer celle de la chimie et esquisser celle de la physique. Bien peu de chimistes et de physiciens, sauf des professeurs, pratiquaient leur profession au Canada au début du siècle. On sait qu'en 1917, un relevé indiquait l'existence de quelque 275 personnes ayant une expérience quelconque dans la pratique de la chimie. On compte actuellement environ 4500 chimistes et ingénieurs-chimistes. Quant aux physiciens, on estime que leur nombre est encore inférieur à 500 mais qu'il augmente chaque année. Une analyse<sup>1</sup> des occupations auxquelles se livrent les chimistes fait voir qu'environ 15% des chimistes canadiens, du moins parmi ceux qui ont répondu à l'enquête de l'Institut de Chimie du Canada, s'adonnent à la recherche pure ou appliquée. Ceci ne tient pas compte des professeurs d'université, dont la plupart dirigent des recherches.

Un grand industriel canadien, M. G. W. Hugget, parlant de l'expansion ininterrompue de l'industrie canadienne, disait récemment que l'industrie, dont les dépenses capitales ne cessent de croître, compte de plus en plus sur la recherche pour trouver de nouveaux produits, de nouveaux usages et de nouveaux marchés. Il faut pour cela un plus grand nombre de chimistes, de physiciens et d'ingénieurs formés aux méthodes de la recherche scientifique. C'est aussi la conclusion à laquelle arrivait le grand économiste canadien Gilbert T. Jackson:<sup>2</sup>

*"... for us, the prosecution of research, the provision of adequate facilities for research have already become a life-and-death interest."*

*"We need in Canada many more trained chemists and physicists, geologists and biologists than are available at present . . . we should begin, therefore, by tackling this as a recruiting and training problem."*

Nous avons déjà vu que la proportion des ingénieurs canadiens de

<sup>1</sup>The Economic Status of Chemists and Chemical Engineers in Canada, in Canadian Chemistry and Process Industries, May 1948.

<sup>2</sup>Research in Canada, pp. 63-84.

langue française ne correspond pas à l'importance numérique de la partie de la population à laquelle ils appartiennent. On a fait la même constatation pour les physiciens et les chimistes. Il serait illusoire, d'après M. Huet Massue<sup>1</sup> de vouloir rétablir une stricte proportionnalité mais on souhaite vivement que la situation s'améliore, qu'un plus grand nombre de jeunes de langue française participent à l'activité scientifique et industrielle du pays et finissent même par augmenter le nombre et la puissance des industries possédées et gérées par des industriels de leur propre groupe ethnique.

Les carrières du génie et de la science rémunèrent bien ceux qui s'y livrent. En général, le salaire ou le traitement moyen de l'ingénieur est quelque peu supérieur à ceux des chimistes et des physiciens. Quoique l'on considère l'ingénieur et le chimiste comme des professionnels, les conditions de leur travail dans les usines sont souvent peu différentes de celles des ouvriers: ils sont salariés, travaillent par équipes, font du service de nuit et sont sujets à toutes les fluctuations du marché du travail. Ils risquent de perdre de vue leur idéal professionnel et plusieurs envient la sécurité que valent aux ouvriers leurs syndicats et les conventions collectives. Il importe que l'industrie fasse en sorte d'obvier à cette tendance qui risque de faire surgir un prolétariat instruit. D'autre part, si le nombre des ingénieurs, des physiciens et des chimistes doit augmenter, on doit veiller à ce qu'il ne dépasse pas celui dont l'industrie a besoin, qu'on ne forme que les meilleurs et que l'industrie, encore une fois, reconnaisse d'une façon tangible les immenses services que lui rend son personnel professionnel.

Les sociétés scientifiques et professionnelles ont pour buts, les premières, de faire avancer la science et, les secondes, d'améliorer le sort de leurs membres. La première en date des sociétés scientifiques du pays est la Société Royale du Canada, dont la section 3 recrute ses membres parmi les mathématiciens, les astronomes, les physiciens, les chimistes et les ingénieurs. C'est là une survivance de ce qui existait lors de sa fondation il y a plus de quatre-vingts ans. Les cadres de cette section éclatent sous la pression de tous ceux qu'on y fait entrer. La Société Royale est trop vaste, et ses membres trop dispersés, pour qu'elle fasse vraiment oeuvre utile sous sa forme actuelle. Cela est particulièrement vrai dans la section qui nous intéresse. Les sociétés spécialisées telles que l'Institut de Chimie du Canada, l'Association canadienne des Physiciens et, dans une certaine mesure, l'Engineering Institute of Canada, avec leurs sections locales, lui font une concurrence sérieuse parce qu'elles répondent mieux aux besoins de tous et de chacun.

D'un caractère général elle aussi, mais moins dispersée dans l'espace,

<sup>1</sup>Contribution de Polytechnique au génie canadien, Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, numéro spécial, novembre 1949.



l'Association canadienne-française pour l'Avancement des Sciences a fait d'énormes progrès depuis sa fondation. Elle est en partie responsable de l'essor qu'ont pris l'enseignement et la recherche dans le Québec. Par son activité auprès du public, par des conférences de vulgarisation, l'Acfas ressemble au Royal Canadian Institute, qui fonctionne à Toronto depuis plus d'un siècle.

Seuls les ingénieurs ont une forte organisation professionnelle qui, ainsi que le veut la Constitution du Canada, relève des provinces. Les associations provinciales se sont groupées pour constituer le Dominion Council of Professional Engineers en même temps qu'elles entretiennent des relations étroites avec l'Engineering Institute of Canada qui a suscité leur existence. Une autre association, mi-scientifique et mi-professionnelle, est le Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy.

Les publications scientifiques ne sont pas nombreuses au Canada. Le Canadian Journal of Research, publié par sections, a subi, à compter de 1951, une importante évolution. Sa section B est devenue le Canadian Journal of Chemistry et sa section F s'appelle désormais Canadian Journal of Technology. Ces deux revues ne publient que des travaux de recherche et, sous leurs anciennes appellations, elles avaient déjà attiré l'attention du monde savant sur les travaux scientifiques du Canada. La section A du même journal était consacrée aux mathématiques et à la physique. Elle devient le Canadian Journal of Physics, les mathématiciens publiant depuis deux ans leur propre journal. L'ensemble des travaux parus dans tous ces périodiques serait l'indice le plus sûr de l'activité de la science canadienne si tous les chercheurs y publièrent leurs travaux. Plusieurs tiennent au contraire à les destiner à des revues américaines ou anglaises dont la diffusion est plus grande. Il est possible que le changement d'orientation que nous venons de signaler les incite à favoriser des revues qui portent désormais des titres distinctifs pour chaque science. Notons que toutes ces publications sont une activité du Conseil national de recherches.

Deux revues d'un caractère plus général s'adressent aux chimistes: Canadian Chemistry and Process Industries est la plus ancienne, datant de 1917; Chemistry in Canada, organe de l'Institut de Chimie du Canada, commence sa troisième année d'existence. Pour les ingénieurs, l'Engineering Journal publie des travaux techniques et des nouvelles concernant l'Institut qui en est l'éditeur. Il en est de même du Canadian Journal of Mining and Metallurgy qui s'adresse aux ingénieurs miniers et aux métallurgistes canadiens.

On compte, depuis quelque années, un bon nombre d'ouvrages scientifiques très intéressants publiés par des savants canadiens. Les uns sont des manuels, les autres sont des ouvrages très spécialisés. La plupart ont été publiés par des éditeurs américains, les éditeurs canadiens pou-

vant difficilement rivaliser avec ces derniers dans ce domaine où les aléas sont très grands.

L'opinion publique canadienne apprécie-t-elle à sa juste valeur l'œuvre des savants de notre pays? Quelques médailles et des prix décernés par les diverses sociétés scientifiques et professionnelles attirent chaque année l'attention du public sur le nom des récipiendaires; le Gouvernement de la Province de Québec attribue périodiquement aux travaux de sciences physiques ou appliquées des prix d'une valeur de \$1,200.; cette initiative est due à l'honorable sénateur Athanase David qui les a fondés lorsqu'il était Secrétaire de la Province. On souhaiterait que cette reconnaissance devienne plus générale et que le public, au lieu de regarder distraitemment le portrait de celui qu'on vient d'honorer par un prix ou une médaille, comprenne mieux l'œuvre qui lui a valu ces récompenses. Dans l'ensemble, la population reconnaît la valeur de la science et elle le montre chaque fois qu'une campagne de souscription sollicite sa générosité en faveur d'une œuvre d'enseignement. Bien des gens ne jurent que par la recherche mais seraient bien incapables de dire ce qu'elle représente de savoir et de peines. La faute en est sans doute aux savants eux-mêmes, qui n'ont pas toujours su mettre à la portée du profane, par des articles ou des conférences, les travaux qu'ils poursuivent et les progrès de leur science. Ceux qui l'ont fait s'en sont trouvés bien et ils ont rendu un fier service à leurs collègues. La radio, et, bientôt, la télévision sont des moyens tout indiqués pour atteindre la population et l'instruire afin qu'elle soit mieux au courant de ce qui se passe dans les laboratoires du pays.

De tout ce qui précède nous pouvons conclure que les sciences physiques et techniques sont dans une très bonne situation au Canada à l'heure actuelle. Le pays peut compter, presque toujours, sur ses propres ressources en hommes et en talents pour poursuivre son œuvre scientifique et industrielle. Nos laboratoires de recherche attirent même les étudiants et les savants étrangers. D'autre part, l'exode des savants et des ingénieurs canadiens vers d'autres pays semble, sinon arrêté, du moins compensé par le retour de plusieurs qui avaient quitté le pays en ces dernières années. C'est que l'essor industriel a repris et s'est affermi. On souhaiterait des améliorations sur plusieurs points de détail mais, dans l'ensemble, on a raison d'être satisfait et d'avoir confiance dans l'avenir pourvu que les facteurs qui ont présidé à l'accomplissement de ce qui existe continuent d'agir dans la même direction.

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# LES MATHÉMATIQUES

ABEL GAUTHIER

## LE RÔLE DES MATHÉMATIQUES DANS LA NATION MODERNE

### 1. *La tête et la main*

“On ne saurait, disait Montaigne, séparer ces deux choses: la tête et la main.” C’est pourtant un peu ce qui se produit dans nos sociétés modernes.

En temps de paix, s’il apporte à l’humanité quelque bienfait insigne, on accorde parfois certains honneurs au théoricien des sciences. Le plus souvent, on l’abandonne à ses formules et à ses recherches. La nation demeure passive en quelque sorte; elle reçoit de ce savant beaucoup plus qu’elle ne lui donne. Quand les techniques traditionnelles rendent bien, elle les utilise indéfiniment, sans se préoccuper de retourner aux principes d’où elles dérivent; quand la main ne rencontre pas un obstacle insoupçonné, la nation oublie de s’intéresser à la tête.

Survienne une guerre qui menace l’existence du pays, on veut en un jour réparer l’imprévoyance de dizaine d’années. On mobilise en hâte les meilleurs cerveaux; on leur demande d’imaginer les moyens d’exploiter au maximum les ressources naturelles et humaines et de fabriquer les engins de défense et d’attaque les meilleurs possible. Du jour au lendemain, les recherches théoriques acquièrent un prestige étonnant.

Après la dernière guerre, les journaux ont répété à profusion que la bombe atomique dérive des travaux mathématiques d’Einstein et de Schrödinger (ils auraient pu ajouter de Newton). Même l’homme de la rue a saisi l’importance des mathématiques pures et appliquées; il a compris que les grandes découvertes théoriques ont sur sa vie des répercussions profondes.

### 2. *Le rôle pratique des mathématiques*

Quel que soit le domaine où il évolue, le savant est le plus souvent conduit à la situation suivante. S’il étudie sérieusement une question donnée, il est d’abord dérouté par la multiplicité des facteurs qui entrent en jeu; il se voit au milieu d’un écheveau inextricable. Mais, après réflexion, il juge qu’il peut éliminer un certain nombre de facteurs plutôt secondaires sans dommage pour le nœud du problème.

Partant de cette conception simplifiée, le mathématicien construit un



modèle idéal, abstrait, sur lequel il peut travailler avec intelligence. Les conclusions qu'il obtient valent toujours pour le modèle. Elles valent souvent aussi pour la situation pratique qui a servi de point de départ; sinon, il est temps de recommencer l'opération en bâtissant un modèle différent.

Entre les facteurs du modèle, il est généralement possible d'établir des relations algébriques ou différentielles. C'est précisément à ce moment que les services du mathématicien deviennent essentiels. Si éloigné qu'il puisse paraître des préoccupations pratiques, cet homme peut alors donner le coup de pouce qui révolutionnera notre manière de vivre.

Pour concrétiser, nous essaierons de décrire quelques types de problèmes pratiques actuels où le mathématicien joue un rôle de premier plan.

### *3. Problèmes comportant la formulation d'une théorie générale*

Pour expliquer un phénomène donné, le mathématicien peut être appelé à établir une théorie générale qui exercera une grande influence sur l'orientation future de la science; la physique mathématique n'est qu'une succession de problèmes de cette nature.

On a ainsi vu naître la gravitation universelle de Newton, la théorie électromagnétique de la lumière de Maxwell, la relativité d'Einstein, la mécanique ondulatoire de Heisenberg et de Schrödinger, la mécanique statistique quantique de Fermi et de Dirac, etc.

Fait remarquable, ces théories qui se suivent comme les anneaux d'une même chaîne ont tenté d'expliquer d'abord les mouvements des astres, puis ceux des atomes. Elles ont fini par devenir indispensables pour tous les chapitres de la physique, et par déterminer les cadres de notre vie.

Il reste encore, et il restera toujours une multitude de phénomènes expérimentaux attendant leur Newton ou leur Heisenberg. Telle est aujourd'hui la structure du noyau de l'atome dont la théorie est à peine ébauchée.

Dans le domaine plus complexe des sciences économiques, les mathématiques ont commencé à s'introduire. L'un des plus grands mathématiciens de notre temps, von Neumann, dans un livre récent, qui fait beaucoup de bruit, a posé les premiers jalons d'une théorie économique, en partant de modèles simples tirés de la stratégie des jeux.

En psychologie, Thurstone et quelques autres ont tenté de trouver les composantes des aptitudes humaines, telles que mesurées par les tests. Ils ont construit ce qu'on appelle communément l'analyse factorielle.

Plusieurs problèmes, d'une portée moins générale, mais d'une importance pratique extrême, ont attiré l'attention des mathématiciens depuis

la dernière guerre; ainsi, certaines questions de télécommunications et d'ondes dirigées.

#### *4. Problèmes de mathématiques pures qui se posent comme conséquence du développement d'une théorie donnée*

Après qu'une théorie satisfaisante a été établie pour un phénomène, on cherche à l'appliquer à tel cas particulier. On est parfois, à ce stade, arrêté par des difficultés mathématiques d'ordre technique; souvent, aucune méthode connue ne peut mener aux solutions désirées. Il faut imaginer de nouveaux procédés.

Le domaine des "équations aux dérivées partielles de la physique mathématique" (problèmes aux limites), la résistance des matériaux, la théorie des structures, de l'élasticité, de la plasticité abondent en cas de ce genre. On peut dire qu'une grande part des efforts des mathématiciens purs se sont exercés et s'exercent encore pour résoudre ainsi les questions posées le plus souvent par les physiciens et les ingénieurs. La théorie des polynômes orthogonaux, les méthodes modernes d'intégration, si elles n'ont pas été développées expressément dans ce but, y ont puisé leur inspiration.

L'activité actuelle en mécanique non linéaire cherche des solutions aux équations de l'électronique et de l'aérodynamique que ne peut fournir la mécanique classique.

#### *5. La solution numérique des problèmes*

On peut connaître la méthode conduisant à la solution numérique d'un problème, mais la difficulté et la longueur des calculs sont parfois tellement considérables qu'il devient impossible de les terminer dans un temps convenable.

Voilà pourquoi, les ingénieurs, les physiciens et les mathématiciens se donnent la main pour inventer des machines à calculer de plus en plus perfectionnées. Depuis dix ans, d'actives recherches ont donné naissance, grâce au progrès de l'électronique, à de véritables "cerveaux électriques". Les machines les plus modernes ont été construites, à grands frais, aux Etats-Unis; elles permettent d'arriver rapidement aux solutions des problèmes de météorologie, de balistique, d'aérodynamique, d'astronomie, d'actuariat, etc. . . Elles servent aussi à la construction des tables de fonctions mathématiques compliquées.

#### *6. L'analyse statistique des données de l'expérience*

Les vingt dernières années ont marqué un progrès intense dans la théorie des statistiques et de leurs applications. La biologie, la psychologie, la production en masse, les sciences économiques et sociales posent des problèmes auxquels l'analyse mathématique peut difficilement répondre. En effet, les facteurs sont nombreux et certains d'entre eux

(la vie, la personne humaine) échappent à un contrôle rigoureux. Les mathématiciens ont attaqué ces questions à l'aide de la statistique mathématique, se contentant de fournir des résultats probables qui se sont avérés d'une grande utilité.

Remarquons en passant que les méthodes statistiques ont souvent mauvaise presse, parce que beaucoup de ceux qui s'en servent sont mal préparés et tirent des conclusions qu'en stricte logique ils n'auraient pas le droit d'énoncer.

Les besoins de la production industrielle de guerre et de l'expérimentation agricole et biologique ont provoqué le développement de méthodes modernes qui aboutissent à des prédictions d'une sûreté assez exactement déterminée et qui se basent sur des observations tirées d'échantillons relativement petits. La nation y gagne de deux façons: elle épargne du temps et de l'argent. D'ailleurs, l'accumulation de faits, aussi nombreux soient-ils, ne peut d'elle-même, forcer des conclusions. La main ne suffit pas. Il faut que la tête apporte sa contribution pour qu'une induction statistique adéquate s'effectue.

La statistique mathématique moderne, par ses recherches théoriques, a ainsi révolutionné des méthodes depuis longtemps en vigueur. Des théories ont été établies qui permettent de déterminer, au cours d'une expérience, s'il convient d'ajouter des observations pour vérifier une hypothèse donnée avec un degré de certitude posé *a priori*. On imagine la fécondité de tels résultats pour la grande industrie et pour les services gouvernementaux d'un pays.

L'économétrie fait un large usage des statistiques. En se basant sur la mesure à un moment donné des principaux facteurs qui déterminent l'état économique, elle peut prédire les variations de l'offre et de la demande, de l'embauchage, des prix, etc. Aux Etats-Unis, on a fondé des instituts d'économétrie qui offrent leurs services au commerce et à l'industrie.

### *7. Mathématiques et culture*

Les mathématiques sont le langage des sciences; c'est pourquoi elles exercent une influence décisive sur leur développement. Elles doivent donc occuper une place de premier choix dans les préoccupations intellectuelles de la nation.

Mais les mathématiques sont aussi un art. Elles possèdent leur beauté propre faite de simplicité dans la forme et dans l'expression. Elles contribuent à l'épanouissement de la capacité de raisonner du citoyen. Elles constituent un merveilleux instrument pour développer les puissances d'analyse et de synthèse de l'esprit. C'est leur caractère propre de débarrasser les problèmes de leurs accessoires secondaires pour ne retenir que les principes fondamentaux.



Depuis le début du vingtième siècle, la logique et les mathématiques se sont fusionnées. En tant que discipline rigoureuse, abstraite et rationnelle, la logique ne saurait en effet se dissocier des mathématiques.

L'habileté à définir avec précision, à analyser une situation concrète en ses éléments essentiels, à intégrer les composantes en un tout harmonieux, à isoler les facteurs fondamentaux et à les combiner pour aboutir à des conclusions nouvelles, voilà ce que la nation attend de ses meilleurs cerveaux. Voilà aussi, ce que peuvent développer les mathématiques.

La nation doit donc, sans négliger tous les autres moyens de culture, faire fleurir les mathématiques. Ne serait-il pas d'ailleurs imprudent de négliger une discipline intellectuelle d'une valeur incontestable qui par surcroît semble devenir de plus en plus l'armature de la science?

#### L'ÉTAT ACTUEL DES MATHÉMATIQUES AU CANADA

##### *1. Introduction*

Si les théories mathématiques ont transformé le visage de notre monde physique, le coup n'est pas venu des mathématiques canadiennes. Hier encore, les hautes mathématiques existaient à peine en notre pays. Nous applaudissions aux beaux travaux des européens et des américains, mais nous manquions du climat indispensable à l'éclosion des œuvres originales. Nous possédons aujourd'hui des professeurs de mathématiques, mais peu de mathématiciens de grande classe.

##### *2. L'enseignement*

Avant la guerre, l'enseignement des mathématiques supérieures était négligé dans presque toutes les universités; les départements de mathématiques devaient, pour justifier leur existence, agir en serviteurs des chimistes et des ingénieurs. Aucune institution n'offrait un programme régulier d'études "graduées." Parce que les élèves se présentaient trop peu nombreux, on hésitait à constituer un personnel considérable de mathématiciens purs.

L'Université de Toronto forme une heureuse exception. Elle eut la bonne fortune d'attirer à elle quelques savants étrangers de haute valeur qui ont contribué à établir un commencement d'atmosphère salubre. Plusieurs jeunes docteurs en mathématiques pures et appliquées, élèves de ces maîtres, occupent aujourd'hui des postes importants à travers tout le pays. L'Université de Toronto fut, croyons-nous, la première institution canadienne à créer un baccalauréat ès-sciences (mathématiques et physique) préparant des théoriciens de la physique.

Depuis la guerre, un vent d'enthousiasme a soufflé parmi les mathématiciens canadiens et l'on voit déjà ses effets; un peu partout, les départements de mathématiques se réorganisent en important des cerveaux européens et en absorbant dans leurs cadres de jeunes Canadiens

formés aux Etats-Unis. De plus, les étudiants de nos collèges optent maintenant plus volontiers pour les mathématiques, parce que de nouveaux débouchés se sont créés.

Le jour n'est peut-être pas loin où toutes les grandes universités canadiennes pourront offrir aux jeunes un programme sérieux d'étude "graduées". Il reste cependant beaucoup de chemin à parcourir pour couvrir des domaines entiers des mathématiques qui, en bien des endroits, sont aujourd'hui à peine effleurés: ainsi la statistique mathématique, la logique symbolique, l'élasticité, la plasticité, l'hydrodynamique, la géométrie algébrique, la topologie, et combien d'autres.

### 3. *La recherche*

Les recherches scientifiques, sous l'impulsion du Conseil national de recherches, de certains services des gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux, des grandes industries et de quelques savants de nos universités animés du feu sacré ont accompli des progrès merveilleux au Canada.

Mais, c'est vers les sciences expérimentales que les efforts se sont surtout canalisés. Phénomène normal. Dans un pays jeune, il est naturel de courir au plus pressé. La botanique, la biologie, la géologie, la chimie se sont d'abord développées; les besoins y étaient plus apparents et plus immédiats. Il fallait bien répondre aux demandes de l'industrie et des gouvernements, inventorier nos ressources naturelles et assurer leur conservation, exploiter nos mines et utiliser au maximum les produits qu'on en tire.

Quant aux recherches théoriques, elles n'étaient guère à la mode avant la guerre. Il faut dire que le Conseil national de recherches, les organismes scientifiques provinciaux tels que l'Ontario Research Foundation et l'Office des recherches scientifiques de la Province de Québec, la grande industrie montraient toujours, au moment d'accorder leurs octrois et leurs bourses, un penchant fort marqué pour les sciences expérimentales les plus près des applications.

Les mathématiciens canadiens n'ont pas été choyés. La poignée de ceux qui ont écrit des œuvres originales se sont tournés vers les Etats-Unis à la recherche d'un climat favorable; ils ont adhéré aux groupements scientifiques américains tels que American Mathematical Society, Mathematical Association of America, Institute of Mathematical Statistics. C'est dans les revues américaines qu'ils ont publié leurs travaux. L'attraction des Etats-Unis s'est exercée sur eux tellement puissante que les meilleurs ont traversé la frontière pour ne plus revenir.

### 4. *Le climat*

On a souvent parlé des traitements élevés des hommes de science aux Etats-Unis. Les Canadiens quitteraient-ils le pays pour cette seule cause? Non, question de climat aussi, question de climat surtout.

La carrière du mathématicien est ardue par nature; elle laisse peu de loisirs à son homme, lui prend le meilleur de ses énergies et le fait vivre maigrement. Comment espérer que des esprits supérieurs s'adonnent alors à des recherches qui mobilisent toutes les ressources de leur pensée, si par surcroît ils se condamnent à l'isolement intellectuel le plus absolu, sachant que la nation se soucie peu de leurs efforts?

Avant 1945, il n'existait au Canada, aucun centre de ralliement, aucun médium d'échange d'idées pour les mathématiciens du pays. Les mathématiciens canadiens de quelque compétence étaient peut-être plus connus aux Etats-Unis qu'au Canada même.

### 5. *L'œuvre de la Société mathématique du Canada*

En 1945, un groupe de professeurs du Québec et de l'Ontario décidèrent de former en association les mathématiciens du pays. Lors d'un premier congrès tenu à Montréal avec grand succès, ils fondèrent la Société mathématique du Canada (Canadian Mathematical Congress).

Depuis cette date, l'atmosphère mathématique a profondément changé:

a) Au congrès de Montréal, la Société réunit des mathématiciens de toutes les parties du pays, du Nouveau-Brunswick à la Colombie britannique, contribuant à établir une cohésion inconnue jusque là.

b) A l'été de 1947, elle organisa à Toronto un séminaire sur "l'algèbre et la théorie des nombres" où furent invités des savants d'Angleterre, de France et des Etats-Unis. Par l'octroi de bourses aux professeurs d'universités, elle facilita les déplacements de ceux qui devaient venir des extrémités du Canada. Cette aventure nouvelle chez nous a constitué un excellent stimulant pour les jeunes universitaires; sentant qu'on s'intéressait à leur perfectionnement, ils ont consenti à sacrifier leurs vacances pour écouter l'exposé des recherches des savants invités et contribuer par l'apport de leurs propres œuvres.

c) En août 1949, nouveau séminaire à Vancouver auquel participent des délégués d'Angleterre, d'Irlande, des Indes, de France et des Etats-Unis. Le sujet choisi touche autant à la physique théorique qu'aux mathématiques: "mathématiques appliquées et sujets connexes". Comme à Toronto, la Société octroie des bourses pour permettre la venue des mathématiciens de l'est du pays. Nouveau succès, l'enthousiasme va grandissant.

En même temps que le séminaire de Vancouver se tient le second congrès de la Société où les liens entre mathématiciens canadiens se resserrent encore.

### 6. *Le Journal canadien de mathématiques*

A notre avis, l'œuvre la plus importante de la Société, c'est la créa-



tion, au début de 1949, d'un organe de la pensée mathématique canadienne: le Journal canadien de mathématiques (Canadian Journal of Mathematics). Publiée par les soins des presses de l'Université de Toronto, cette revue trimestrielle de haute tenue reçoit l'appui financier de la plupart des universités canadiennes et du Conseil national de recherches. Des articles y paraissent signés par des savants d'Europe et des Etats-Unis; chaque livraison contient, autant que possible, au moins un article d'un mathématicien canadien. Le français et l'anglais sont les langues officielles du Journal.

Cette publication pénètre dans les milieux universitaires étrangers et contribue à établir des contacts dont on ne saurait trop vanter les effets; elle offre aux jeunes chercheurs un médium naturel pour la diffusion de leurs travaux.

#### *7. Intérêt de l'industrie et du commerce pour le développement des mathématiques*

Quand la Société mathématique du Canada entreprit d'établir au pays un climat qui avait si longtemps manqué, elle crut indispensable de s'assurer des fonds en faisant appel aux corps publics et aux grandes entreprises commerciales et industrielles.

Le Conseil national de recherches, les gouvernements de plusieurs provinces canadiennes, les universités, les banques, les compagnies d'assurances, plusieurs industries répondirent merveilleusement aux sollicitations des dirigeants de la Société. En un sens, les réalisations que nous avons mentionnées plus haut sont l'œuvre de l'industrie et du commerce canadiens.

Cette expérience amène même à penser que si les mathématiques ont été longtemps ici une science oubliée, c'est peut être à cause des mathématiciens eux-mêmes qui ont failli au devoir d'exposer leurs besoins.

#### *8. Les débouchés nouveaux*

On a regardé longtemps les mathématiques comme une science d'enseignement; les jeunes qui s'y destinaient se voyaient fatalement devenir professeurs de collèges ou d'universités. Faisant cependant exception, la carrière de l'actuariat. Mais il faut dire que cette profession, si elle emprunte beaucoup aux mathématiques, ne demande tout de même pas ce que l'on convient d'appliquer des études supérieures ("graduate studies").

Depuis environ dix ans, une demande considérable de mathématiciens est survenue de la part des services gouvernementaux, du Conseil national de recherches, de l'industrie et du commerce.

Récemment, une des plus grandes compagnies canadiennes de la pulpe et du papier requerrait les services de huit mathématiciens spécialisés

en statistique. La campagne actuelle de l'Etat en faveur des recherches médicales a créé un besoin impérieux de statisticiens pour dresser le plan de certaines expériences et pour en interpréter les résultats. Dans les universités canadiennes, on commence à employer les mathématiciens dans les laboratoires de recherches psychologiques, biologiques et médicales, non pas pour professer, mais pour agir comme statisticiens-conseils. Le Conseil national de recherches et le "Defence Research Board" requièrent des mathématiciens versés dans les applications à la physique théorique; il en est de même des services météorologiques du pays qui se sont développés prodigieusement depuis la guerre.

On peut espérer que la tendance de certains esprits à mathématiser quelques parties des sciences économiques amènera les grandes entreprises commerciales canadiennes à utiliser les services d'éconémétristes. Mais cela ne semble pas encore réalisé.

#### 9. *Une aventure nouvelle du Conseil national de recherches*

Pour contribuer à l'épanouissement des sciences expérimentales dans les universités, le Conseil national de recherches accorde volontiers des octrois pour permettre aux chercheurs de s'adjoindre des assistants et d'acheter du matériel. Cette politique ne peut guère aider le mathématicien qui, en somme, n'utilise que les ressources de son cerveau et une bonne bibliothèque.

C'est pourquoi, par l'intermédiaire de la Société mathématique du Canada, quelques universitaires ont suggéré au Conseil national de recherches l'adoption d'une autre manière de procéder. Pour faciliter la recherche mathématique, il suffit en effet de soulager les esprits bien doués des soucis matériels; ils peuvent alors s'adonner à un travail intellectuel sérieux. Une première expérience a été tentée à l'été de 1950. Le Conseil national de recherches a accordé des bourses de vacances à quelque dix mathématiciens triés sur le volet, qui se sont groupés à l'une de nos universités canadiennes, Queen's, pour s'occuper exclusivement de recherches théoriques. Le groupe de chercheurs se composait de jeunes professeurs d'universités déjà pourvus du doctorat ès-sciences et qui ont fait leurs preuves dans le travail créateur. Notons que la plupart d'entre eux n'ont pas été formés au Canada.

Cette expérience, nous l'espérons, devrait donner d'excellents résultats.

#### 10. *L'œuvre de l'Acfas*

Il existe dans la province de Québec une association qui fait beaucoup pour développer les sciences dans les universités du Québec, c'est l'Acfas; elle distribue depuis nombre d'années des bourses à de jeunes professeurs d'universités qui désirent parfaire leur culture en dehors du pays. Elle a contribué à la formation d'un bon nombre de mathématiciens de

Laval et de Montréal. Nous pouvons affirmer, sans beaucoup de chances d'erreur, que cette association, subventionnée par le gouvernement de la Province de Québec, a accordé à des mathématiciens quinze à vingt bourses de vacances.

11. *Les bourses et les concours du gouvernement de la Province de Québec*

Le gouvernement de la province de Québec accorde aussi chaque année à des diplômés des institutions de cette province, des bourses d'études à l'étranger (Europe et Etats-Unis). La majorité des bourses sont allées jusqu'ici à des médecins et des artistes; quelques-unes ont été octroyées à des mathématiciens qui occupent maintenant des postes aux universités Laval et de Montréal. Depuis plus de quinze ans, le même gouvernement organise des concours littéraires et scientifiques annuels pour récompenser par des prix importants les efforts de ceux qui se livrent au travail intellectuel. Les auteurs peuvent présenter leurs travaux en français ou en anglais. Périodiquement les mathématiques et les sciences physiques font l'objet du concours; cependant, aucune œuvre mathématique, croyons-nous, n'a jamais été couronnée peut être parce qu'aucune n'a jamais été soumise à l'attention des juges.

12. *Le "Computing center" et les "expositions series" de l'Université de Toronto*

Avant de clore cet aperçu de l'activité mathématique au pays, il convient de mentionner la création d'un "computing center" qui eut lieu à Toronto, il y a deux ou trois ans, grâce à un octroi du Conseil national de recherches. S'inspirant des centres analogues des Etats-Unis, où l'on s'est attaché à perfectionner les machines à calculer et à résoudre des problèmes numériques compliqués, cette initiative nouvelle pourra produire ici des fruits merveilleux, mais elle n'est qu'à ses débuts.

Nous tenons aussi à signaler la publication par les soins des presses de l'Université de Toronto d'une série de textes où l'on expose dans un style clair et précis un chapitre particulier des mathématiques. Les auteurs, canadiens le plus souvent, visent à adapter leur œuvre aux besoins de l'enseignement supérieur (fin du baccalauréat ès-sciences ou début des études "graduées"). La plupart des textes sont largement utilisés au Canada et aux Etats-Unis, et contribuent à étendre outre frontière l'influence des intellectuels de notre pays.

#### SUGGESTIONS

1. *Introduction*

Ce n'est qu'en ces dernières années que les mathématiques ont commencé à attirer l'intérêt des Canadiens. L'impulsion est venue de la



Société mathématique du Canada et de l'école de Toronto. Que faudrait-il pour entretenir la flamme qui vient de s'allumer?

Nous nous permettrons d'offrir quelques suggestions, les unes s'appliquant à tous les aspects de la culture, les autres concernant plus particulièrement les mathématiques.

## 2. *Difficultés de principe*

Pour promouvoir la culture des arts, des lettres et des sciences, il faut l'action énergique d'hommes et d'organismes désintéressés qui visent au plus grand bien de la nation et qui comprennent profondément ce qu'est la valeur "humaine" d'un citoyen. Plusieurs esprits pensent immédiatement à l'Etat; les uns entendent le gouvernement fédéral, les autres, les gouvernements provinciaux.

Ici surgissent des difficultés de principe sérieuses que nous n'avons pas l'intention de discuter à fond. Pour la population française du Québec (et des autres provinces), il est dangereux d'abandonner au pouvoir central le contrôle strict de la culture, sans savoir au préalable quelles garanties elle aura de conserver sa façon propre de concevoir les questions fondamentales qui font partie de la moelle de ses os. Des esprits plus autorisés que nous l'ont souligné devant la Commission royale d'enquête avec beaucoup de justesse et de franchise.

C'est là une question à laquelle la Commission accordera une attention particulière, compréhensive et sympathique, en tenant compte de l'apport culturel de la minorité française à la nation canadienne. Ces difficultés, cependant, ne sauraient être insurmontables.

Quant à nous, nous ne sommes pas loin de penser que le développement des sciences, s'il devait être laissé aux seuls soins des provinces, risquerait de présenter des caractères de fragmentation et d'incohérence. Certaines recherches pourraient bien n'être pas entreprises qui seraient de nécessité vitale pour le pays. Le pouvoir central doit intervenir au moins pour intégrer les parties, pour coordonner les activités, pour orienter les efforts vers les domaines dont la nation profitera davantage.

## 3. *Les universités*

C'est dans les universités que doit se centrer la culture. Chez elles doit s'établir un climat favorable au travail créateur, leur but propre qu'elles ne peuvent oublier sans risque pour leur honneur. Mais la plupart des universités canadiennes possèdent un personnel insuffisant; les plus pauvres imposent à leurs professeurs un lourd fardeau de cours élémentaires qui leur laisse peu de loisirs pour la recherche et pour l'enseignement supérieur.

Il faut multiplier à travers le pays les institutions riches. Si le hasard veut que certaines universités reçoivent des dons substantiels de la part

de quelques citoyens fortunés, tant mieux. Si d'autres ont moins de ressources, le gouvernement provincial concerné ou encore le gouvernement fédéral, par un processus acceptable aux provinces et en conformité avec la constitution, doit leur venir en aide. Dans tous les cas les universités conserveront leur indépendance.

#### 4. Bourses et octrois de recherches dans les universités

Une institution riche en deniers peut produire de pauvres fruits si, chez elle et autour d'elle, l'atmosphère n'est pas vivifiante. Voilà pourquoi tous les éléments de la nation doivent collaborer pour maintenir dans les universités un niveau élevé de culture.

C'est, à notre avis, le plus beau titre de gloire du Conseil national de recherches d'avoir, pour le domaine des sciences expérimentales, compris cette vérité. Par des bourses aux étudiants "gradués", par des octrois pour l'achat d'appareillage, il a maintenu au sein des universités canadiennes des foyers intenses de culture scientifique. Les boursiers du Conseil national qui coudoient chaque jour les étudiants moins avancés sont une source d'inspiration pour ces derniers.

Depuis quelques années, le Conseil encourage les recherches théoriques en physique et en mathématiques. Il convient d'intensifier les efforts en ce sens. On a eu longtemps l'impression que seules les sciences de laboratoire faisaient l'objet de son intérêt. Afin que les étudiants connaissent mieux les avantages que leur offre le Conseil national, ne serait-il pas aussi opportun que des représentants de cet organisme se rendent périodiquement dans chaque université du pays et exposent aux jeunes le rôle du Conseil dans le développement des sciences au Canada?

Plusieurs provinces ont mis sur pied des conseils de recherches scientifiques qui distribuent aussi des bourses et des octrois. N'y aurait-il pas lieu d'établir entre eux et le Conseil national une collaboration étroite? On supprimerait ainsi des doubles emplois et on atteindrait un rendement meilleur.

Les universités acceptent encore des subventions du commerce, de l'industrie et des individus. Cette politique mérite d'être continuée à condition que les chercheurs conservent une liberté assez grande sur le choix du travail qu'ils entreprennent. Il serait illusoire cependant d'espérer que ces derniers dons suffiront à tous les besoins. Les organismes fédéraux et provinciaux deviendront de plus en plus, croyons-nous, la source principale d'encouragement financier pour la culture scientifique désintéressée.

#### 5. Bourses aux "undergraduates"

Au Canada, l'éducation coûte cher aux parents, beaucoup plus qu'en certains pays d'Europe. Or, celui qui se préoccupe de donner à ses

enfants une formation universitaire, contribue à la préparation d'esprits qui joueront plus tard un rôle précieux pour la nation. Ne conviendrait-il pas alors que les gouvernements provinciaux ou encore le gouvernement fédéral, par un processus acceptable aux provinces et en conformité avec la constitution, apportent une aide importante pour que les frais des parents se réduisent à un minimum?

L'exemple des vétérans de la dernière guerre constitue un précédent où l'assistance du gouvernement fédéral s'est exercée envers les "under-graduates"; dans les provinces, le Service d'Aide à la Jeunesse a aussi depuis quelques années multiplié les bourses en faveur de cette catégorie d'étudiants. Reste à trouver une formule par laquelle le pouvoir central et les provinces joindraient leurs efforts en parfaite harmonie.

#### 6. *Grands prix du gouvernement canadien*

Afin que les sciences en général, et les mathématiques en particulier, acquièrent auprès du peuple un prestige plus grand, il convient de donner aux œuvres des savants canadiens une consécration officielle. Le gouvernement fédéral pourrait, par exemple, créer des grands prix annuels, qui seraient décernés par l'intermédiaire du Conseil national de recherches ou par une commission chargées de promouvoir les arts les lettres et les sciences au pays.

La société Radio-Canada, la Société royale, le Gouvernement de la Province de Québec, et plusieurs autres organismes accordent dans des domaines particuliers des prix qui représentent des sommes modestes mais qui apprennent au peuple le rang élevé des valeurs intellectuelles. L'homme de la rue respecte naturellement ce que l'autorité a couronné; d'autre part, les savants et les artistes sont souvent fort sensibles aux honneurs. Un prix du gouvernement canadien attribué avec le décorum convenable pourrait produire les meilleurs effets.

#### 7. *Les bibliothèques*

Comment un mathématicien peut-il travailler sans une bibliothèque bien fournie? Nos universités, toujours pour des raisons financières, sont souvent fort pauvres en cette matière. Or les livres et les revues sont les outils des sciences théoriques: ils tiennent lieu de laboratoire.

On a souvent parlé, et avec raison, d'une bibliothèque nationale à Ottawa; mais de quelle utilité sera-t-elle pour Terre-Neuve et pour la Colombie britannique? Si l'on veut développer les recherches scientifiques théoriques et les arts par tout le pays, ne convient-il pas de placer autant que possible la bibliothèque près du chercheur?

Plusieurs esprits suggèrent que, par un processus acceptable aux provinces, le gouvernement fédéral contribue de ses deniers à l'établissement de bibliothèques parfaitement au point dans toutes les universités cana-



diennes. Il n'y a pas lieu, croyons-nous, d'effectuer un partage strictement proportionnel à la population. Il serait illogique de refuser à une province les instruments de culture parce qu'elle compte peu d'habitants ou qu'elle se place loin du gouvernement central.

Il convient de remarquer que la réalisation de cette suggestion ne donnerait lieu qu'à des frais relativement petits en comparaison de ceux que nécessite l'installation de laboratoires pour les recherches expérimentales.

#### 8. *Décentralisation du Conseil national de recherches*

Le Conseil national de recherches a son centre à Ottawa, mais il possède certaines sections en d'autres points du pays. Il est possible de concevoir une organisation plus décentralisée: Un noyau à Ottawa avec des succursales dans chaque province, *près des universités*. Sans aucun doute, un tel plan aiderait à familiariser la population canadienne avec la chose scientifique qui ferait en un certain sens partie de sa vie quotidienne; il rendrait plus homogène la distribution des savants par tout le Canada.

Ces succursales perdraient beaucoup en efficacité, si elles devaient être trop spécialisées; chacune devait couvrir autant que possible la plupart des champs de la science. Pour éviter les cloisonnements et favoriser l'unité canadienne, les chercheurs seraient appelés à passer de l'une à l'autre, créant des contacts indispensables au succès des recherches d'envergure.

Un Conseil national de recherches décentralisé n'aurait-il pas aussi plus d'attrait pour les jeunes de talent que le hasard a fait naître aux extrémités de notre vaste pays? A tort ou à raison, certains d'entre eux hésitent à quitter une province où ils ont des attaches pour commencer leur carrière à Ottawa, particulièrement ceux de la province de Québec pour qui se pose la question de la langue et de l'éducation des enfants.

#### 9. *Transformation du Conseil national de recherches*

Plusieurs esprits verraient d'un bon œil la création d'un Conseil national des arts, des lettres et des sciences qui se substituerait au Conseil actuel et dont le champ d'action engloberait tous les aspects de la culture. Un tel organisme rendrait justice à tous les travailleurs intellectuels et pourrait produire une certaine "humanisation" du monde scientifique canadien.

Les mathématiques s'intégreraient beaucoup mieux dans ces cadres nouveaux que dans les anciens où apparaissent en relief les côtés techniques et appliqués de la science. Car les mathématiques, si elles relèvent des sciences quand on regarde leurs applications, s'apparentent aussi aux arts quand on s'attache à leur aspect culturel. Un Conseil des arts,

des lettres et des sciences pourrait mettre sur pied une section des sciences théoriques fondamentales, comprenant la physique et les mathématiques, qui retiendrait les services de jeunes savants dont les recherches pures serviraient au plus grand profit de la nation.

Cette transformation du Conseil national des recherches scientifiques reste compatible avec la décentralisation dont nous avons parlé tantôt; nous croyons même que les deux phénomènes devraient se produire en même temps.

#### 10. Un "Institute of Advanced Study"

Parce que l'essor des mathématiques canadiennes n'est encore qu'à ses débuts, la formation du corps professoral des universités pose un problème qu'il n'est pas toujours facile de résoudre; le plus souvent, on engage les jeunes candidats à l'enseignement à acquérir un complément de culture aux Etats-Unis ou en Europe.

La création d'un Institut d'études scientifiques théoriques supérieures, sur le modèle de ceux de Princeton et de Dublin, offrirait, croyons-nous, une solution plus élégante. Ces Instituts, que sont-ils sinon une réunion de cerveaux brillants au milieu d'une bibliothèque parfaite dans une atmosphère idéale?

L'Institut se conçoit fort simplement. Cinq ou six savants mathématiciens de réputation internationale seraient invités à y résider pour une période déterminée, après quoi d'autres les remplaceraient, de façon à couvrir le plus possible tous les champs des mathématiques. Les futurs professeurs des institutions canadiennes, pourvus déjà du doctorat de nos universités, obtiendraient des bourses pour effectuer des recherches sous la direction de ces maîtres. Afin que tout le pays puisse bénéficier du séjour de ces savants invités, il serait souhaitable que ces derniers aillent de temps à autre prononcer des conférences ou participer à des séminaires dans les principales universités.

L'Institut pourrait avoir une immense influence sur les mathématiques canadiennes; les universités tiendraient, croyons-nous, à y envoyer leurs jeunes professeurs qui reviendraient revêtus de prestige pour dispenser une science qu'ils n'auraient pu autrement acquérir qu'en dehors du pays.

Reste à voir de quelle manière cette institution serait dotée financièrement. Nous sommes convaincu que l'industrie et le commerce canadiens accorderaient pour cette nouvelle initiative des subventions généreuses comme le démontre leur attitude envers l'œuvre de la Société mathématique du Canada. Le gouvernement fédéral *en collaboration étroite avec les provinces* pourrait supporter une partie importante des frais qui en somme ne sauraient s'élever tellement, puisque l'Institut ne comporterait pas de laboratoire.

11. *La désignation du personnel scientifique du service civil*

Avant de clore ce dernier chapitre, nous tenons à signaler à la Commission royale que le gouvernement du Canada, un des plus grands employeurs des diplômés en sciences du pays, utilise une terminologie qui, si elle est au fond inoffensive, peut à la longue produire de mauvais effets. Car la désignation finit par définir la chose. On emploie les bacheliers ès-sciences, les maîtres ès-sciences et même les docteurs ès-sciences à titre de "préposés techniques", ce qui semble indiquer qu'on apprécie beaucoup plus leurs connaissances pratiques que la culture qu'ils ont pu acquérir. Nous savons que tel n'est pas le cas. Il serait d'ailleurs fort malheureux que les savants de notre pays, surtout ceux qui peuplent les services gouvernementaux, ne possèdent pas le minimum de culture générale nécessaire pour le commerce agréable et la compréhension entre les hommes.

## RÉSUMÉ

Pour résumer cette étude, nous nous permettons de répéter:

- 1.— que les mathématiques ont leur place dans les préoccupations culturelles des nations modernes; que, par surcoût, on ne saurait les négliger sans risque pour le développement des autres sciences, même dans leurs aspects éminemment pratiques;
- 2.— que le Canada n'a pas jusqu'ici attaché une importance assez grande aux progrès des mathématiques, quoique les années d'après-guerre aient vu naître la Société mathématique du Canada et ses œuvres admirables;
- 3.— que la collaboration la plus étroite entre le gouvernement fédéral et les gouvernements provinciaux nous paraît une condition indispensable au développement harmonieux des arts, des lettres et des sciences au Canada;
- 4.— que cette collaboration doit se traduire par une certaine décentralisation des organismes que le gouvernement fédéral pourra estimer devoir mettre sur pied pour favoriser la culture intellectuelle des individus;
- 5.— que le centre de la culture en un point précis du pays devra se placer dans les universités, que le gouvernement fédéral pourra subventionner via les provinces.

Souhaitons que les conclusions de la Commission royale aident le gouvernement du pays à remplir adéquatement le devoir des Etats modernes: résoudre le problème de la culture intellectuelle des masses afin qu'elles sachent utiliser avec sagesse leur puissance nouvelle.

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## MEDICAL RESEARCH

G. H. ETTINGER

### THE BEGINNINGS

MEDICAL research really began on a national basis in Canada with the discovery of insulin. Prior to 1921 little serious work was done in Canadian medical schools, although good teachers, mostly of British origin were training and stimulating young biochemists and physiologists at the University of Toronto, McGill University, the University of Manitoba, and the University of Western Ontario. Had this not been so, had there not been little groups of ardent young scientists in our medical laboratories at the time Banting commenced his experiments there could not have been the excellent team-work which produced insulin, and the explosive force of its discovery would have provoked no echoes in Canadian laboratories beyond the city of Toronto.

News of Banting and insulin, widely distributed by an excited and sympathetic press, stirred Canadian imagination. A young Canadian war veteran, with little scientific training, aided by a college youth not yet graduated, had done what older, experienced foreign scientists had failed to do, because they were not discouraged by mishaps and setbacks which had baffled wiser men. Enthusiasm was not confined to Canada. Wherever in America and Europe Banting went, he was hailed and fêted. Tempting offers of research appointments came to him and were rejected. He wished to stay in Canada. A gratified Dominion Parliament voted him an annuity; the Provincial Legislature established a Chair of Medical Research for him at the University of Toronto, with provision for a small annual budget. A group of Toronto business men collected a large sum of money to establish the Banting Research Foundation; the interest was designed to support the researches of the new Professor of Medical Research. But Banting asked that only part of it be used for his researches, and the rest to supply funds for any Canadian investigator who had a good medical problem; this request was granted. Banting was asked to patent the process for extracting insulin; he refused, saying that it was his gift to humanity. He was persuaded that patenting would be the only way to ensure standardization, and that standardization was necessary to protect the patient. He agreed to the patenting, yet declined himself to sign the application. The patent was granted and an American phar-

maceutical house licensed to prepare and sell insulin in the United States. The royalties soon amounted to an astonishing amount of money. One half was divided among three of the scientists credited with the discovery and purification—Banting, Best and Collip—not for their personal income, but for the maintenance of their research programmes in the laboratories in which they worked. (Dr. MacLeod, the fourth member of the team, returned to Scotland in 1928.) Thus the Department of Biochemistry at the University of Alberta and the Departments of Physiology and Medical Research at the University of Toronto, were assured of considerable financial support for medical research for a long period of years. Their programmes naturally expanded. When Collip moved to McGill, insulin royalties moved with him. Medical research in Canada was on a firm basis, pecuniary and scientific.

The effect was not entirely local. Canadian medical scientists were well known in the United States; until now many of the best of them had gone there to work. Generous American benefactors, including large foundations, now began to take an interest in Canadian medical schools. For example, in the period 1920 to 1934, the Rockefeller Foundation made gifts to Canadian medical schools, amounting to over six million dollars, and fellowship grants exceeding \$122,000. These gifts were supplemented by donations from Canadian sources. Expansion of physical facilities followed, and with this, a natural increase in medical research activity. Among the new installations were the Montreal Neurological Institute at McGill University, and the School of Hygiene, the Connaught Laboratories, and the Banting Institute, at the University of Toronto.

The top floor of the Banting Institute housed the new Banting and Best Department of Medical Research, headed by Dr. Banting himself. Here he developed research interests outside insulin; he drew young men to him; he was besieged by requests for permission to work in his laboratories; he was made many offers of financial assistance. His one great passion was to assist young men to work out their own ideas.

When he had come to Toronto in 1921, looking for a place to carry out his investigations on the pancreas, he felt that he had not been welcomed, and that meagre facilities had been grudgingly handed over. He determined that no young Canadian who came to him with a good problem should lack opportunity to work on it. The turnover in young personnel in his laboratory was very great; the yield of scientific fruit was not large; yet when in 1935, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, he was told that he was elected not because of the discovery of insulin, but because of the fine scientific record of his laboratory in other fields.

## EARLY FEDERAL SUPPORT—THE NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

Banting made Canadians conscious of the latent powers of Canadian medical science. Medical teachers in all universities found it easier to interest the governing bodies in supporting their researches yet enough money did not come easily. There was a tendency to claim that funds should be provided from federal sources. Banting was sensitive to this feeling. In 1935 he was invited to sit on the National Research Council. He decided that he would accept and would ask that the Council engage in medical research.

He had ample support for this innovation. In 1936 President McNaughton of the National Research Council submitted proposals concerning the organization of medical research in Canada to the Canadian Medical Association, the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, and the Department of Pensions and National Health. These bodies recommended that the National Research Council set up an Associate Committee on Medical Research. The Committee was appointed in 1938, with Sir Frederick Banting as Chairman. His first important act was to make a survey of research facilities and resources in the Canadian medical schools, commencing October 1938. He found much enthusiasm, many medical scientists eager to do research, and a great need for funds to make research possible. In the small centres, particularly, he was welcomed almost as a Messiah; tired teachers had their hopes for assistance re-awakened; young men and women became ardent disciples.

The Associate Committee was given, in its first year, a budget of \$53,000, and a legacy of research in tuberculosis which had been sponsored by the Council for some years. No central laboratories were planned, but medical scientists in the universities were invited to make application for research assistance. More requests came than could be satisfied, and preference was given to investigations bearing on chronic diseases, such as arthritis, cancer, tuberculosis, and diseases of the heart and blood-vessels.

## WAR-TIME MEDICAL RESEARCH

The programme had hardly got started when, suddenly, we were at war.

The Associate Committee on Medical Research immediately concentrated its programme on investigations related to the war. The Council set up three additional medical committees—the Associate Committees on Aviation Medical Research, Naval Medical Research, and Army Medical Research. Each of these studied problems related to the comfort, safety, protection, clothing and nutrition of the particular service for which it was created. The original Associate Committee investigated problems



common to all Services and to the civilian population, such as: prevention and treatment of shock, storage of blood, preparation and storage of blood derivatives, treatment of infection of wounds, treatment of burns and traumatic injuries.

University teachers made up most of the various Committees and directed the researches; they were supplemented by colleagues who had joined the Services and were seconded to investigative work. University laboratories and their personnel were used for most of the investigations sponsored by the four Committees, although the Service Committees set up some small establishments. Little graduate training was possible in the medical schools, since most professional graduates went directly into the Armed Services or into industry. There was little opportunity for fundamental work; the medical problems in war-time required chiefly applied research.

Shortly after the war ended, the Council's Service Committees were dissolved. The Department of National Defence, however, continued its interest in medical research, and initiated a programme under its newly formed Defence Research Board. Its special interests are served by a system of grants-in-aid, and by directed researches. Some of these are carried out in Service laboratories which were set up during the war, such as the Institute of Aviation Medicine, and others in university laboratories.

Peace brought freedom to the universities to resume fundamental research activity. Much new equipment had been installed for war researches, technical personnel had been trained in its use; young medical graduates who had been in the Services clamoured for graduate training; there remained only a need for increased financial support.

#### POST-WAR EXPANSION

Recognizing the opportunity and the need, the National Research Council in 1946 expanded its medical research interests by creating a new Division of Medical Research, with a budget of \$200,000, and an Advisory Committee on Medical Research to replace the old Associate Committee. The Director of the Division is Dr. J. B. Collip. The new organization differs from other Divisions of Council in that its programme is entirely extramural; no central laboratories are used and none contemplated. Applications for assistance in carrying out specific investigations must come directly from the interested investigators. They come almost exclusively from university laboratories and clinics, from physiologists, pharmacologists, biochemists, bacteriologists, pathologists, surgeons, and internists.

An early act of the new Division was to offer Medical Research Fellowships, at stipends ranging from \$1,000 to \$2,400 per annum.

Sixteen appointments were made the first year, and thirty the second. Through such assistance a large number of young medical scientists strained the resources for research training in the medical schools. A great burst of medical research activity followed. Requests for more and larger assisted research grants poured into the National Research Council. The budget was enlarged, yet still the cry went up for greater federal assistance.

#### NATIONAL SOCIETIES FOR THE STUDY OF SPECIAL DISEASES

During the late years of the war, Members of Parliament urged that the Federal Government support investigations in the field of cancer. In January, 1947, the Honourable the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, called a conference of representatives of all those organizations which might be interested in research in, and the treatment of, cancer. Out of this came the organization of the National Cancer Institute of Canada, which undertook to coordinate cancer research in the Dominion, and to support graduate training in cancer research and treatment. The Ontario Cancer Treatment and Research Foundation already had a good research programme established; small investigations were going on in other provinces, but until now there was no coordination of provincial research programmes.

The National Cancer Institute required funds. The King George V Jubilee Cancer Fund was almost intact. The capital sum of \$450,000 had lain dormant for more than ten years. The trustees of this fund offered the major part of it to the National Cancer Institute, in three annual instalments, as a nucleus for its programme. Additional funds were subscribed by the Canadian Cancer Society, and the new organization was in a position to invite applications for assisted research grants and fellowships.

The Advisory Committee on Medical Research of the National Research Council was invited to advise the Institute in its research programme. This invitation was accepted. The Committee reviews and makes recommendations on all applications which come to the National Cancer Institute for research grants and fellowships. The Institute decided that any investigation involving problems of growth and metabolism would be acceptable in its research programme. This opened the field to botanists, zoologists, and biochemists, as well as to experimental pathologists, physiologists, cytologists and virologists.

In 1947 the Institute made twenty-eight awards amounting to \$84,111. In 1949 it made fifty-seven awards, and appointed six research fellows. As soon as the National Cancer Institute was able to give grants for cancer research, the National Research Council withdrew from that field. The most remarkable feature of the change was, however, that

whereas the National Research Council had received very few applications for research in cancer, and made only two awards in 1946, the National Cancer Institute, within a year of its establishment, received forty-eight applications amounting to \$359,107. This was due partly to the liberal interpretation of what constitutes research in cancer, partly due to the interest awakened by the great publicity attending the new organization, and partly due to the coincidental expansion in research facilities in the universities.

The awakening of public interest and support for research in cancer was quickly followed by demands that something be done about arthritis. This question was frequently brought up in the House of Commons, and the Honourable the Minister of National Health and Welfare finally called a conference of representatives of organizations interested in the problems of the arthritic on the 13th and 14th of October, 1947. Out of it grew the Canadian Arthritis and Rheumatism Society, which aims at the establishment of clinics for treating the arthritic, at experiments in rehabilitation, at training rheumatologists, and, as well, at a programme of research into the causes and treatment of arthritis. But no nest-egg of money lay awaiting its budgetary demands; it had to defer its activity until it could collect money. Nevertheless, it asked the Advisory Committee on Medical Research of the National Research Council to act as its scientific advisory committee, and to examine the research applications which are expected to exceed \$50,000 in July, 1950.

Organizations such as the National Cancer Institute are the Canadian Arthritis and Rheumatism Society, which are set up after a careful conference of recognized medical and scientific specialists, including representatives of medical schools, departments of health, and government medical agencies, are sure of a firm foundation, an authentic medical and scientific programme, and the confidence of the supporting public. The acceptance of the National Research Council of the invitations of these bodies to act as an advisory committee is a sign of approval of the research programme contemplated, and a guarantee of careful reviewing of the applications for assistance.

#### PRIVATE GIFTS

Private gifts of some magnitude, often given without announcement, have added to the resources of medical research laboratories. Large corporations and organizations have made considerable donations. One liberal Canadian agency is the Canadian Life Insurance Officers' Association. This organization has for some years assisted medical research; its gifts to medicine in 1948 amounted to \$55,500. In 1949 it announced that in addition to the sum of \$60,000 which was to be distributed, mainly



for research in medicine, it would offer \$50,000 per annum for senior research fellowships, to be used in medical schools. This has been already of noticeable assistance to the universities, in providing stipends for trained men, or senior men in training.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH RESEARCH

In 1948, The Prime Minister announced the institution of annual Public Health Grants by the Federal Government to be used in the provinces in a broad public health programme. These included support for research in the public health field. In the first year, this was to amount to \$100,000; it was to increase annually by \$100,000 to the fifth year, when it would reach \$500,000. A Public Health Grants Committee was appointed to referee the application and make recommendations to the Minister.

The response to the announcement resembled that which followed the creation of the National Cancer Institute. Whereas the National Research Council had received only a few applications annually for assistance in research in the public health field, the applications which came to the Public Health Grants Committee in the first year were much in excess of its budget of \$100,000.

#### COORDINATION OF PROGRAMMES OF NATIONAL GRANTING BODIES

For coordination of medical research programmes, conferences have been held for the past two years, of representatives of the following granting bodies: National Research Council, Defence Research Board, National Cancer Institute, and Public Health Research Grants Committee. The executive officers of these organizations scrutinize applications for research grants and fellowships which come to all these bodies, particularly with a view to re-routing those which have come to the wrong organization. As a result, there is a reasonably clear definition of the field of each organization, and a prevention of uneconomical overlapping of researches. The Canadian Arthritis and Rheumatism Society has asked to be able to participate in this arrangement, and will do so when its research programme becomes established.

#### RESEARCH ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER DOMINION-PROVINCIAL HEALTH GRANTS

In addition to the Public Health Research Grants, the Dominion-Provincial Health Grants provided funds for the improvement, extension and development of programmes for the prevention and treatment of (a) crippling conditions in children, (b) mental illness, and (c) tuberculosis, and for the control of cancer and venereal disease. It is within the power

of the provincial Departments of Health to make recommendations for research grants from any of these funds. Money from the cancer and mental health grants has already been used for research.

#### ACTH AND CORTISONE

After the war few applications came to the National Research Council for assistance in the field of arthritis. The *N. R. C. Review* reports: "In spite of the public interest in arthritis, only one application was received in 1948 for support of research in that disease." Yet during that year, Hench and his co-workers at the Mayo Clinic made a discovery that gave great hope to the arthritic, and laid the foundation for the most remarkable attack on chronic diseases of unknown origin that has illuminated medical research and treatment. Hench found that an extract of the adrenal gland, called "Cortisone", is capable of alleviating rheumatoid arthritis. It was prescribed experimentally for a variety of other chronic (and some acute) diseases. It seemed to have miraculous therapeutic qualities; these could not be explained on the basis of our knowledge of the physiology of the adrenal gland, and they drew serious internists into a new era of empirical medicine.

The adrenal gland is a small organ near the kidney. From its rind, or cortex, biochemists have recovered a number of compounds whose slight differences in make-up confer on them different physiological properties. One of these substances is "Cortisone". In animals damage to, or removal of, the adrenal cortex precipitates a mortal condition which is similar to the clinical condition of adrenal insufficiency known as "Addison's Disease". Extracts of the gland, including cortisone, can restore to health, so long as their administration is continued. Yet damage to the adrenal gland in animals does not cause arthritis, and Addison's disease is not characterized by joint disturbances. The experimental use of cortisone in a group of apparently unrelated diseases such as rheumatoid arthritis, rheumatic fever, psoriasis, leukaemia, and asthma, yielded most encouraging results, but further confused the scientifically-minded internists who are accustomed to rational therapeutics.

The amount of hormone discharged by the adrenal cortex in health is sufficient for ordinary needs, but stress calls for increased secretion. This is provided under the stimulus of the adrenocorticotrophic hormone (ACTH) produced by another gland, the pituitary body. Thus, stress provokes a secretion of ACTH; ACTH in turn excites the secretion of cortical hormone. The injection of ACTH in an animal can produce excessive discharge of cortical hormone.

Following the discovery of the therapeutic effects of cortisone, it was a natural step to test the effects of ACTH in clinical conditions which

respond to cortisone. The results were as dramatic as those with cortisone.

The great promise of therapeutic usefulness of these two natural products raised two questions: (a) what is the supply, and (b) what is the danger and margin of safety?

Both substances are produced in the bodies of all mammals, and stored in limited quantities in the appropriate glands. Fortunately Sarett had synthesized cortisone in 1946 in the laboratories of Merck & Co. Inc. of Rahway, New Jersey, and it had been made since then. It sold, in 1948, for \$200.00 a gram. Merck & Co. supplied it *for experimental purposes only*, to scientists and physicians. With increasing knowledge and experience in its manufacture, there was every likelihood that the yield would be greatly increased, and the price reduced.

ACTH, however, is a protein, and no method has been devised for its synthesis. Supplies depend on the number of animals, chiefly hogs, which are slaughtered, and on the efficiency of recovery of stored hormone. The first extract of the pituitary gland which contained a high concentration of ACTH, and was free of substances which might have demonstrable effects on other organs, was made by Dr. J. B. Collip at McGill University in 1933. Commercial production of ACTH in 1948 was, however, mainly in the hands of Armour & Company of Chicago. Its supply was much more limited than that of cortisone; its price was the same, \$200.00 a gram.<sup>1</sup>

The questions of usefulness, danger of administration and margin of safety could be settled only by prolonged and careful experimentation. Armour & Company gave most of its early output to American and (a few) Canadian scientists and clinicians, on condition that it be used experimentally, and that full reports be submitted. In the summer of 1949 the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, appointed a committee to advise Merck & Co. on the distribution of cortisone in America, for research purposes. The National Research Council, Ottawa, was invited to appoint a representative to sit on this Committee. Merck & Co. agreed that, until 31 December, 1949, cortisone would be sold only to those persons in the United States and Canada whose applications had been approved by the cortisone committee.

Use of the hormones soon revealed that while the early therapeutic promise could be relied upon, there was danger of toxic effects, of inducing conditions which might be more dangerous than the illness which was being treated. Obviously much careful investigation must precede open sale of the substances.

The leaders in scientific and governmental circles in Canada recognized

<sup>1</sup> By December, 1950, the price (to the National Research Council) had fallen to \$108.00 a gram for ACTH and \$24.00 a gram for cortisone.



great opportunities and obligations. Representatives of the Department of National Health and Welfare and of the National Research Council conferred in October, 1949, and decided to take steps to extract ACTH from hogs slaughtered in Canada, and to make it available for research purposes. Dr. R. D. Defries, Director of the Connaught Medical Research Laboratories in Toronto, agreed to collect pituitaries, and to commence extraction. The cost of this programme was met by the National Research Council and the Department of National Health and Welfare. Canadian packing houses provided willing cooperation. The President of the National Research Council appointed an Advisory Committee on ACTH and Cortisone, to advise him on a policy of distribution of ACTH and cortisone for research purposes. The Minister of National Health undertook to find funds to purchase the hormones.

The Advisory Committee on ACTH and Cortisone commenced its programme in December, 1949. Applications for grants of supplies of the hormones and for research assistance were invited from the staffs of the Canadian medical schools; there was an immediate response. Most of the budget was provided by Provincial Departments of Health out of Dominion Provincial Health Grants. By June, 1950, two hundred and four grants of cortisone and ACTH were made for clinical or fundamental investigations, and seventeen grants for assistance in these researches. The total commitments at this time for the calendar year exceeded \$400,000. Added to these was the cost of the vigorous investigations conducted by the Department of Veterans Affairs. Canadian medical scientists were embarked on clinical studies of arthritis and other diseases which respond to these hormones, and upon the more fundamental problems of how the hormones work.

The Dominion Government and the National Research Council have established a precedent; when Canadian medical scientists can demonstrate that there is urgent need for support of research which has an obvious bearing on the health of a large number of citizens, they may look to the Government for assistance.

#### PROCEDURE IN THE DIVISION OF MEDICAL RESEARCH, NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Division of Medical Research of the National Research Council spends most of its budget (\$538,000 in 1949-50) on research fellowships and grants in aid of research. Fellowships are designed for training in research, not for providing opportunities for clinical experience. Their value now varies from \$1,500 to \$2,500 *per annum*. While it is desired that the training be obtained in Canada, a fellow may proceed to a labor-

atory outside the country if he has had some research experience, and the particular training desired is not available in this country.

This fellowship programme has been popular and profitable. It began at a time when a large number of ex-service men were looking for graduate training. Many of these were preparing for examinations of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, whose candidates should spend a year at research in one of the basic sciences. Ex-service men were able to get additional assistance from the Department of Veterans Affairs. In 1950 the number of applicants was reduced by about one third. This is probably a sign of dissolution of the pool of veterans, and of the reluctance of the young non-veteran graduate to spend a year at research on a stipend on which he can not easily make ends meet. The programme has, however, proven its worth, and junior staff appointments have already been made in several university departments, from the ranks of former National Research Council fellows.

Senior Research Fellowships were made available first in 1949. They are available to graduates in medicine who are trained in research, capable of doing independent work and of directing the work of others, and who desire to undertake a career of research in medicine. The stipend varies from \$3,000 to \$5,000, according to experience. The fellowships are designed to provide appointments for trained men who might be drawn to research positions abroad, or to clinical practice, for want of opportunity to pursue a research career in Canada. Four such fellows were appointed in 1949, five in 1950.

The assisted research programme is carried out mainly through the universities. Applications for grants-in-aid are invited from medical scientists. No studies are directed by the Council, no offers of research assistance are made for work on selected or named problems, no scientist is urged to do special work by the Council. The selection of the problem, the plan of work, the nature of apparatus and assistance required are all left to the individual who wishes to do the work. He must make application for a named sum of money to permit him to investigate a problem he chooses and describes.

Applications are scrutinized by the Advisory Committee on Medical Research, and action follows its recommendations. This Committee is appointed by Council. It consists of a number of selected members appointed for a term of three years, and *ex officio* members as follows: President of the National Research Council, Deputy Minister of National Health and Welfare, President of the Canadian Medical Association, President of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, Director and Assistant Director of the Division of Medical Research. The selected members are almost inevitably members of staff of the Canadian medical schools. They serve without remuneration. They come from uni-

versities from Vancouver to Halifax. They have followed the tradition of the Associate Committee on Medical Research in giving thoughtful and expert consideration to all phases of the medical research programme of the National Research Council, and dispassionate and unbiased consideration to applications for assistance.

The President of the National Research Council has confidence in the judgment of the Advisory Committee, he respects its decisions and has, accordingly, its loyal support. Such a relationship makes it possible for him to get the consent of the most capable and respected medical scientists in Canada to serve on his Advisory Committee. It has also resulted in a remarkable public confidence in the ability of the National Research Council to give advice in matters of medical research, and on policy of distribution, for research purposes, of drugs which are rare or whose properties are imperfectly understood.

When a laboratory or institution has established a programme of high quality and is recognized as a centre for training in research, and the reputation of its director and his staff are firmly established in the scientific world, it may be assisted by a consolidated research grant rather than by a group of grants-in-aid. The amount of this grant is fixed and will recur annually so long as the budget of the Division is not reduced. This new form of grant has proven popular, effective and economical of administration, as applied to the Montreal Neurological Institute (Dr. W. Penfield, Director) the University Clinic, Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal (Dr. J. S. L. Browne, Director), the Banting and Best Department of Medical Research and Department of Physiology, University of Toronto (Dr. C. H. Best, Director), and the Collip Medical Research Laboratories, University of Western Ontario (Dr. J. B. Collip, Director). The pattern has already been adopted by the National Cancer Institute.

#### SURVEY OF MEDICAL RESEARCH FACILITIES IN CANADA, 1948

In 1948 the National Research Council asked the Privy Council to consider the all-inclusive form in which support might be provided for the broad programme of medical research in Canada. A survey committee was appointed to investigate the research needs of the Canadian medical schools and other medical research institutions. The chairman of this committee was Dr. C. B. Stewart, Professor of Epidemiology and Nursing Education at Dalhousie University. He had, ten years earlier, made a similar survey with Sir Frederick Banting.

The survey of 1948 revealed that medical research in Canada is done mainly in the medical schools, but also in laboratories maintained by pharmaceutical houses, in some hospitals and institutions apart from medical schools, in provincial and federal health laboratories, and in special establishments maintained by the Department of National Defence. The most significant work is done in the medical schools.



Financial support for the research programmes comes from the following Canadian sources: local university funds, either through special endowment or current revenue; grants-in-aid of research from the National Research Council, the National Cancer Institute, the Ontario Cancer Treatment and Research Foundation, the Public Health Research Grants, the Department of National Defence, the Banting Research Foundation, the Canadian Life Insurance Officers Association, local cancer societies, the Canadian Society for Disseminated Sclerosis; and from private gifts and bequests. Grants and gifts also come from the United States, notably from the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, the U.S. Public Health Service, the Sugar Research Foundation, the Life Insurance Research Fund, the Rockefeller Foundation, and several pharmaceutical firms. The survey committee found no difficulty in learning the actual source and amount of funds received by the smaller medical schools, but could not get complete information from the large universities. The figures given to the committee however, revealed that in 1947-48 the Canadian universities received for medical research purposes, more than one and one-quarter million dollars. Three quarters of this came from granting bodies in Canada and the United States, and of this sixty per cent came from Federal Government funds.

These figures are probably below the actual sum, and more recent figures available to the National Research Council will be given later.

#### RESEARCH ACTIVITY IN UNIVERSITIES

It is generally accepted that teaching and research are complementary; that good teachers become stimulated and more stimulating if they do research. The Stewart Committee found that, particularly in the smaller medical schools, the teaching load of some members of the staff is so heavy that there is little time or energy for research. This produces a vicious circle, for good teachers who wish to do research are reluctant to take teaching posts in those departments which have an onerous teaching programme.

There are few departments which teach basic medical sciences in Canadian medical schools, however, in which some research is not done. The men in small departments tend to become individualists; they are wise if in their research work they do not spread their interests too broadly. As well as a smaller teaching load, they require skilled technical assistance and the help of young graduates. The latter is available in the larger schools which have well-established graduate courses. Graduate students are reluctant to come to the smaller schools. Equivalent help might be provided by additional junior departmental teaching appointments, on moderate salaries. This would, as well as spreading the teaching, create more and larger research cells.

One of the requests that came to the Stewart Committee was that it use its influence to urge that the smaller medical schools be provided with funds to permit the teaching staff to be so enlarged that time would be made available for research. This is, at the present, one of the greatest needs in our medical schools.

While the first purpose of a medical school is to teach, and the research activities of most teachers are carried out in "leisure" hours, there have been set up, in some schools, departments whose primary activity is research. They are "Medical Research" departments, staffed by men and women who have few or no teaching responsibilities. At the University of Toronto there is the Banting and Best Department of Medical Research, whose Director is Professor C. H. Best; at the University of Western Ontario there is the Collip Department of Medical Research, whose Director is Dean J. B. Collip; and at the University of Manitoba, the Department of Medical Research, directed by Professor J. Doupe. In two of these departments the director is also the head of the Department of Physiology, in the third one of the full professors is also the Professor of Physiology. The programmes in each department are well integrated in the fields of physiology, biochemistry, and experimental pathology, including cancer research.

At the University of Montreal, there is a beautifully equipped Department of Experimental Medicine and Surgery, similar in programme to the Department of Medical Research at other universities. Its Director is Professor Hans Selye. At McGill University a Research Department of Biophysics was established through a very large grant made by an American pharmaceutical house, with Dr. Kenneth Evelyn as Director. At Laval University the department most fruitful in medical research is the Institute of Human Biology and Hygiene, whose Director is Dr. L. P. Dugal.

A university research department can be a valuable asset to a medical school if it stimulates research in teaching departments. Its success depends mainly on the personality of the director. A man like Collip or Best inspires young men; his reputation is a guarantee that a grant to the department will be wisely and profitably spent. Teaching departments in the same university are sure to be feeders for the research department, and in that way they draw attention to their own virtues and achievements in the research field. The existence of a department of medical research in a school, however, should never provide an excuse for failure of teaching departments to do research, nor should the department be a depot where busy clinicians might have the problems of their practice solved.

At the Montreal General Hospital an Institute for Special Research and Cell Metabolism has been set up, under Dr. I. M. Rabinowitch. It aims at investigating fundamental problems in relation to cancer. Dr. Rabinowitch persuaded Dr. J. H. Quastel to come from Wales to direct

its biochemical investigations. The Institute has a close affiliation with McGill University, yet is independent of it financially.

Another valuable asset to Canadian medical research is the Montreal Neurological Institute. Its Director is Dr. Wilder Penfield, neurosurgeon and neuropathologist. It is a part of McGill University, but has a separate budget. It occupies a large building which contains a hospital, and laboratories for teaching and research. It is the Canadian centre for the training of neuroanatomists, neurosurgeons, and neuropathologists. Its reputation for sound training and research draws young men as fellows from all over the English-speaking world.

In another class are the Connaught Medical Research Laboratories at the University of Toronto, and the Institute of Microbiology and Hygiene at the University of Montreal. These organizations have a two-fold programme—production and research. They manufacture and sell biological products for therapeutic use, such as sera, vaccines, liver extract, hormone preparations. Associated with these institutions are well-staffed departments for teaching and research. For example, the School of Hygiene at the University of Toronto is housed in the same building as the Connaught Medical Research Laboratories. Its various departments derive much of their budgets from the Connaught Laboratories, but these must be supplemented by research grants from outside the university for the programme of fundamental, applied and developmental research.

All these special research organizations do excellent work. They contribute greatly to the research reputation which Canadian universities have achieved. They are major factors in the graduate training programme of young medical scientists. They are, however, expensive to maintain. Their maintenance depends on special gifts or on heavy endowment. With expansion they tend to become dependent upon annual research grants. There has been even a tendency for them to ask granting bodies to underwrite the salaries of their permanent professional employees. Such an arrangement is helpful in placing in Canada highly trained specialists whom the universities could not afford out of their teaching budgets. It also has the effect of making it difficult for the smaller universities to get teaching posts filled, for the special institutes can out-bid them, in salary as well as equipment and opportunity to do research. There is small wonder that administrators in some of the small universities suggest that research foundations and granting bodies contribute to the universities, sums which might be used to supplement their professors' salaries, or to meet the universities' expenses in maintaining the administrative and basic costs essential to the researches for which grants are made.

#### CANADIAN ACHIEVEMENTS IN MEDICAL RESEARCH

The major activities supported by the National Research Council are



about equally divided amongst the following fields: endocrinology, metabolism, nervous system and special senses, cardiovascular physiology and disease, properties of blood, surgical problems, including shock, bacteriology and immunity. This work is spread over all the Canadian Medical Schools.

Cancer research has become a major interest since the National Cancer Institute began to give assistance. The most fundamental work in this field centres around the University of Western Ontario (Department of Medical Research), the University of Toronto (Department of Medical Research, Department of Anatomy, Connaught Medical Research Laboratories), the Institute for Special Research and Cell Metabolism at the Montreal General Hospital, the University of Montreal and the University of Saskatchewan.

Very important work is done in virology at the Connaught Medical Research Laboratories, and in nutrition in the School of Hygiene and the Sick Children's Hospital at Toronto and in the University of Manitoba. Fundamental work with isotopes is carried on at Dr. Cipriani's laboratories at Chalk River, at the University of Montreal and McGill University, and clinical work at the University of Toronto, McMaster University and the University of Manitoba. Notable advances have been made in experimental surgery, particularly in the cardiovascular field, at the University of Toronto.

The Defence Research Board supports a variety of investigations vital to National Defence, including physiological problems related to low temperatures.

The Stewart Committee reported that in 1948 there were 955 persons engaged in medical research at the Canadian universities. Of these 278 were technicians, and 315 graduate students. Fifty-one scientists with professional qualifications devoted all their time to research, and 311, mostly teachers, gave part of their time. In addition to these numbers, there are men and women in government laboratories, pharmaceutical laboratories, and in establishments under the Defence Research Board, active in medical research. The total for Canada would probably exceed 1,200.

Canadian medical investigators have formed their own scientific societies. Of these the most important is the Canadian Physiological Society, whose annual meetings provide programmes quite the equal of any of the major foreign societies. There are four Canadian journals available for their scientific publications—the *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, established in 1910; the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, established in 1911; the *Revue Canadienne de Biologie*, established in 1942; and the *Canadian Journal of Research (Section E)*, established in 1944.

Many Canadian medical scientists are members of foreign societies. Their achievements and their relative positions in the scientific life of

Canada may be measured most easily by the honours they have received abroad. There are, for example, sixteen Canadians who are fellows of the Royal Society of London. Six of these are active in medical research. To these might be added Dr. B. P. Babkin, who died in May, 1950, and Sir Frederick Banting, killed in 1941.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND RESEARCH NEEDS

There are three main sources of support for medical research—university budgets, voluntary or endowed research foundations and societies, and federal funds. In addition, there are private gifts. It is difficult to get precise figures on university budgets and private gifts. The research time-value of university teachers, and the proportion of their departmental budgets and university overhead spent on research, are impossible to estimate with any accuracy. They are recognized, but not included in figures which follow.

Information available to the National Research Council reveals that the income of medical schools and associated organizations for medical research, including research fellowship stipends, for 1949-50, was more than \$1,500,000. The revealed sources were:

*Canadian Sources*

Defence Research Board	108,670.00
Aviation Medicine (estimate)	50,000.00
Public Health Research Grants	203,000.00
National Research Council	500,000.00
Mental Health Grants (estimate)	25,000.00
National Cancer Institute	235,552.00
(including \$121,736.00 derived from Dominion-Provincial Cancer Grants)	
Cancer Research Society	13,500.00
Ontario Cancer Treatment and Research Foundation	81,501.00
Banting Research Foundation	23,732.00
Canadian Life Insurance Officers Association	51,100.00
McConnell Fund	10,000.00
Charles E. Frosst & Co.	9,400.00
TOTAL -	\$1,311,455.00

*American Sources*

National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis	34,140.00
Life Insurance Medical Research Fund	33,800.00
Sugar Research Foundation	10,000.00
Rockefeller Foundation	10,000.00
Commonwealth Fund	30,600.00
U.S. Public Health Service	76,303.00
Markle Foundation	10,000.00
Squibb Institute for Medical Research	5,000.00
TOTAL -	\$ 209,843.00
GRAND TOTAL -	\$1,521,298.00

Of the \$1,311,455 derived from Canadian sources, nearly \$1,000,000 came from the federal treasury. The total reported does not include the cost of maintenance of establishments by the Defence Research Board, (probably \$150,000), nor the many gifts, private donations, and funds available from university budgets. These latter are not inconsiderable; for example, in one large university the Stewart Committee was told of research income in 1947-48 from sources not listed above, amounting to \$250,000. It is safe to estimate that the total annual income from such sources of all Canadian medical schools exceeds \$600,000. Thus it is likely that the spending in medical schools and federal medical research establishments for 1949-50 was at least \$2,275,000, exclusive of overhead and salaries of university teachers devoting part of their time to medical research.

The figures for 1950-51 will be at least \$1,000,000 greater, for the Public Health Research Grants will increase by \$100,000; more than \$400,000 will be spent on cortisone and ACTH research; the Department of Veterans Affairs is prepared to spend \$300,000; the National Cancer Institute has made awards of \$100,000 in excess of the awards for 1949-50; a much larger amount will be spent out of the health grants for research in mental health; and the Canadian Arthritis and Rheumatism Society will spend about \$50,000. It is safe to say that in 1950-51 there will be three and one-quarter million dollars spent in Canada on medical research, of which at least two millions will come from federal sources.

Dr. Wilder Penfield, in a recent address to the Parliamentary Health Committee, urged that much greater grants be made by the Federal Government for research in medicine, under a new administrative non-political organization. He speaks with experience and authority. Certainly much more money could be used with profit, now that we are passing into an era of clinical research. The clinician is handicapped in his investigations by the high cost of maintaining patients in hospitals. Valuable clinical research material is being lost because there is no money to meet the cost of keeping patients in hospital long enough to make a thorough scientific investigation of their diseases. Assuming that the maintenance cost of a hospital patient is \$10.00 *per diem*, and that there should be throughout Canada one hundred beds available for this purpose, the annual cost would be \$365,000. Special equipment and tests would easily raise the figure to \$500,000. Expensive equipment and tests are considered essential for modern research. Existing laboratories are cramped and crowded, and more buildings must be erected if advantages are to be maintained and expansion permitted.

But granting the wisdom of recognizing their requirements, the biggest barrier to expansion is the actual shortage of personnel. Eugene F. Dubois,



the distinguished American physiologist, writes of research in the United States in the *Annual Review of Physiology* (1950):

“Research has been appreciated to such an extent that it has become embarrassing. The public expects every problem to be solved by expenditure of enough money. The grants for projects by government agencies are of extraordinary liberality and are well managed. As a result, laboratories in all fields are expanding faster than the supply of trained personnel. Unfortunately, the greatest expansion came at the very time when the shortage was most acute on account of the interruption of training during the war.”

This shortage is noticeable in Canada now, and will not be overcome for some time. One of the delaying factors is economic. A very large number of recent university graduates are married, and have small families. Such young men can not undertake graduate work unless it is subsidized on a scale which will permit maintenance of a home. They are apt to take the shortest cut to independence. If medical graduates are to be attracted from the lucrative rewards of clinical practice into a research career, the value of research fellowships must be increased, and more permanent teaching and research appointments made available.

But even the attitude of the trained young worker has changed, so that research becomes increasingly expensive. Professor Dubois continues:

“It is interesting to see the modern pattern of applications for government grants for projects in the field of physiology. Young investigators, a few years after receiving the Ph.D., expect the aid of an electronics technician, a biochemist, and an animal caretaker; they all seem to need at least one piece of apparatus which costs two thousand dollars.”

Then, contrasting earlier times with modern days (and, at the same time indicating the decline in economic status of the scientist) he writes,

“As I remember the departments of physiology in the first two decades of this country, they were small and compact. There were few technicians. The professor spent the day making his own physical measurements and chemical analyses. Then he went home and a maid cooked the dinner and washed the dishes. Nowadays it is the technician who makes the scientific measurements, and the professor washes the dishes after the dinner has been cooked by his wife.”

Canadian medical science has achieved much in the past thirty years; it has earned the respect of the civilized world. It owes most to its leaders—Banting, Best, Collip, Penfield—the three who survive have colour, vision, ambition, wisdom. They draw good men about them. Less well known men in the medical schools lean on them for advice and encouragement, but have contributed much independently. The researches of all

have gained momentum from the support of the Federal Government. The future depends not only on the continued liberality of government agencies, but on the number and quality of the men who are induced and encouraged to work at research. To discover and train these is our greatest need.

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# THE TEACHING OF APPLIED SCIENCE

K. F. TUPPER

## INTRODUCTION

### Foreword

THIS monograph deals with the teaching of applied science in Canada. The writer recognizes a distinction between engineering and applied science, but for convenience these terms are used almost synonymously throughout—the word “engineering” being selected for general use on grounds of brevity.

Many sciences are applied and in its broadest meaning “applied science” could include medicine, dentistry, agriculture, and many other vocations. A more restricted meaning has been chosen, science referring to the physical rather than the natural sciences.

### Canadian Engineering Colleges

There are in Canada today eleven educational institutions which carry engineering education to the baccalaureate degree. These are listed together with the name of the degree granted:

Nova Scotia Technical College, Halifax . . . . .	B.E.
University of New Brunswick, Fredericton . . . . .	B.Sc.
Laval University, Quebec City . . . . .	B.Sc.A.
McGill University, Montreal . . . . .	B.Eng.
Ecole Polytechnique, Montreal . . . . .	B.Sc.A.
Queen's University, Kingston . . . . .	B.Sc.
University of Toronto, Toronto . . . . .	B.A.Sc.
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg . . . . .	B.Sc.
University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon . . . . .	B.E.
University of Alberta, Edmonton . . . . .	B.Sc.
University of British Columbia, Vancouver . . . . .	B.A.Sc.

Nova Scotia Technical College gives a two year course, but it functions in co-operation with six other schools which offer three year engineering courses, so that the students finishing at N.S.T.C. complete a five year training. The six co-operating schools are:



Memorial University College, St. John's, Newfoundland

Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S.

University of St. Mary's College, Halifax, N.S.

Acadia University, Wolfville, N.S.

St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N.S.

Mount Allison University, Sackville, N.B.

Elsewhere some preparatory courses in engineering are being offered. The Royal Military College at Kingston, Ontario, is beginning a four year course, and its graduates may require only an additional year elsewhere to obtain a degree. Royal Roads at Victoria, B.C., is giving the first two years of a similar course. Ottawa University and Carleton College, Ottawa, offer two year courses, and Lakehead Technical Institute, at Port Arthur-Fort William, gives a one year engineering course.

### Geographical Aspects

The output of applied science graduates conforms closely to the distribution of population as shown in the following table. The number of students given is the total of non-veteran students enrolled 1949-50 in the two final years.

		Number of Students	%	Population in thousands	%
Nova Scotia		203	8.4	645	4.7
New Brunswick		75	3.1	516	3.8
Quebec		530	22.0	3,887	28.5
Laval	84				
Ecole Poly.	160				
McGill	286				
Ontario		758	31.4	4,411	32.3
Queen's	197				
Toronto	561				
Manitoba		139	5.8	778	5.7
Saskatchewan		192	8.0	861	6.3
Alberta		145	6.0	871	6.4
British Columbia		368	15.3	1,114	8.2
Newfoundland, P.E.I., Yukon and Northwest Territories		—	—	553	4.1
		2,410	100	13,636	100

From these figures one may deduce that each year there will be about 8.5 engineering graduates per hundred thousand of population. If main-

tained this will produce about one graduate engineer per 400 persons in the Canadian population as compared with one per 500 at present.

### Courses Offered

Four branches of engineering have achieved an importance exceeding all others, namely: Civil, Mechanical, Chemical, and Electrical. Of the students enrolled 1949-50, 80 per cent are proceeding in these four courses. Because of the importance of the mineral resources of Canada, three other engineering courses have a prominence not usually found elsewhere. These are: Mining, Geology and Mineralogy, and Metallurgy. Another 9 per cent of students are in these three courses. The remaining 11 per cent of students are distributed among six other courses.

The table below shows the particular courses taught at each of the eleven degree-granting schools. Listed at the bottom is the number of courses offered at each school together with the percentage of national graduate output. Attention is called to the existence of a definite relation between the size of the student body and the number of distinct courses which can be given:

	Univ. of New Brunswick	Manitoba	Ecole Polytechnique	Nova Scotia Tech.	Laval	McGill	Alberta	Queen's	Saskatchewan	University of B.C.	Univ. of Toronto	Number
Civil	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	11
Elect.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	11
Mech.		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	9
Chem.			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9
Mining			X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	8
Metallurgy				X	X	X		X		X	X	6
Geology					X		X	X	X	X	X	6
Eng. Physics						X	X	X	X	X	X	6
Ceramic									X		X	2
Agricultural									X	X		2
Petroleum							X					1
Aeronautical											X	1
Eng. & Business											X	1
Per cent output	3	7	7	7	4	10	6	5	9	16	25	
No. of Courses	2	3	4	6	7	7	7	8	8	9	11	

## The Students' Cost of Education

The following data is from a survey<sup>1</sup> made in 1947-48 and is regarded as reasonably reliable today:

Cost of One Year in Engineering				
Size of Student Sample	University	Tuition & Other fees	Living & Expenses	Total
20	New Brunswick	\$224	\$ 802	\$1028
13	Laval	252	1029	1281
53	McGill	310	835	1145
20	Queen's	325	771	1096
99	Toronto	352	787	1139
48	Saskatchewan	135	781	916
38	British Columbia	238	773	1011

These figures are, of course, the average of the sample. Minimum costs are about \$200 less than these amounts.

Although it does not appear as an expenditure, another item which should be taken into account is loss of earnings while the student is at school. He loses each session approximately eight months' earnings which would aggregate about \$1000.00.

## The Occupations of Applied Science Graduates

The vast majority of applied science graduates become employees and remain as employees during their entire careers. In this respect engineering differs markedly from law, medicine and dentistry, where the opposite is generally true. The typical medical doctor or lawyer makes his services available to many patients or clients. A small number of engineers—about 3 per cent—practice engineering as consultants, either as individuals or more commonly in a small partnership.

A recent survey<sup>2</sup>, based on the published membership lists of the Corporation of Professional Engineers of Quebec, and the Association of Professional Engineers of the Province of Ontario, discloses the following facts:

<i>Quebec</i>	<i>Number of employees</i>
First 30 employers	1,528
Next 263 employers	967
Last 535 employers	535 (1 employee each)
	<hr/> 3,030

1. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Reference Paper No. 6*, 1949.

2. Technical Personnel Division, Department of Labour, The results are given (in different form) in the *Quarterly Bulletin*, March, 1950.



*Ontario*

First	30 employers	2,780 (24 to 648 employees)
Next	47 employers	653 (10 to 23 " )
Next	85 employers	659 ( 5 to 9 " )
Next	304 employers	795 ( 2 to 4 " )
Next	1030 employers	1,030 ( 1 employee)
		<hr/> 5,827

An examination of these data indicates that about one half of the members work for organizations employing fairly large groups of professional personnel, the other half work for firms employing only two or three.

Due entirely to the large scale of present day undertakings it seems unlikely that the applied scientist will appear in significantly large numbers in any other role than that of employee.

Some additional interesting information is available from a Department of Labour survey<sup>1</sup> of 300 engineers who graduated in the period 1932-36. The breakdown of employment by industry or employer is shown below:

Armed forces		16
Government		40
Federal	23	
Provincial	12	
Municipal	5	
Construction		8
Mining		22
Consulting		12
Teaching		14
University	11	
School	3	
Manufacturing		127
Base metals	15	
Chemicals	21	
Textiles	6	
Foods	4	
Iron and Steel Products	26	
Electrical Apparatus	13	
Aircraft	4	
Rubber	4	
Petroleum	15	

1. Technical Personnel Division, Department of Labour, *Quarterly Bulletin*, December, 1949.

Building Products	4	
Pulp and Paper	15	
Non-engineering		7
Outside of Canada		30
U.S.A.	15	
Elsewhere	15	
Total		<hr/> 300

Other investigations of much wider scope have revealed that only ten per cent of engineers educated in Canada eventually emigrate to the U.S.A. There is a popular misbelief that the fraction is much larger than this.

### Equilibrium between Supply and Demand

Whereas certain professional trainings lead only to the practice of that profession (medicine, dentistry) others may serve as a very helpful route to many other callings. Perhaps law and engineering are two excellent examples of the latter. Many high positions in industry and public life are filled with men who have had their professional training in engineering.

For this reason it is unnecessary to recognize any problem of delicate balance between the number of men trained in applied science and the apparent number of positions for such men. In fact there are many students who choose an engineering course at college not because they are intent on the practice of engineering but because they regard it as a generally useful training, leaving them great freedom of choice after they have completed their higher education.

### Relation between Industry and Education

Two world wars which necessitated great industrial expansion for munitions production, together with tariff policies abroad which have encouraged economic self sufficiency, have converted Canada from a producer of raw materials into an important manufacturing country.

Our large industries are in most cases subsidiaries of those abroad. For example the Canadian chemical industry is dominated by one company. This company is affiliated with the major chemical company in the United States and its counterpart in the United Kingdom.

As a consequence no research work, no product development, no plant design is undertaken in Canada. If market conditions warrant, taking into account labour costs, material costs and tariffs, this company may build a plant in Canada to produce a product already developed elsewhere.

A similar situation exists with respect to many products. One can

buy motor cars, cameras, electric clocks, radios, all of which have been made in Canada, but in most instances these products are not designed or developed here but instead are being built by Canadian subsidiaries of foreign companies. Except for the "Made in Canada" label these articles are identical in all respects to those being made by the parent company elsewhere.

Although this phenomenon is attributed to the relatively small population of this country there seems to be no fundamental reason for it. Switzerland can always be pointed out as an example of a country small in size and without great natural resources but which is quite in the forefront in technological development.

Our present condition does have a profound effect on the "application of science," and the activity of applied scientists is intimately related to the amount of original design and development which goes on. Opportunity rather than capacity for original design seems to be the missing factor—when confronted with the challenge to do original work Canadian scientists and engineers have come through with first-rate solutions.

A close correlation seems to exist between industrial pioneering and the teaching of science and technology in universities. Generally speaking, if a nation's industries are not in the forefront, neither will be its engineering colleges. The writer declines to state which is cause and which is effect, or whether both are symptomatic of some other phenomenon. The correlation is too good to be accidental. In the case of Switzerland, already mentioned as a small nation with exceptionally progressive industries, her engineering schools have a world-wide renown.

#### THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

##### The Selection of Applied Science Students

"The schools do not select their students but instead the students select their schools and their courses." This is a significant statement.

Canadian engineering schools have admission requirements definitely stated, and usually they will admit any student who applies for admission and can meet the requirements. Selection therefore means self-selection.

As a consequence of the present admission procedure there is a substantial wastage. The failure rates in engineering courses are notoriously high, and a fairly large fraction of those admitted as freshmen never receive a degree. Whether the present process is a wise one is impossible to state. If admission standards were raised the failure rate would be reduced but so also would the output of graduates. There is no accepted criterion on which to judge success.

At present the only yardstick by which one can measure student quality is the academic attainment—in other words, the ability to write



examination papers. This is a severe handicap indeed, for the graduate does not go through life facing only situations which are similar to the writing of examinations. The importance of personal qualities—honesty, perseverance, initiative, ability to get along with others—is receiving an ever greater attention. Our failure to take these into account in our admission process lies not in our appreciation of their relative importance but in our almost complete inability to measure them in a quantitative fashion. We can award a mark of 69 per cent for algebra but how much for initiative?

Large companies employing engineers frequently assess the relative merits of their employees using specially developed evaluation formulae. These formulae almost invariably disclose that technical proficiency is outweighed about two to one by personal qualities which are quite unrelated with present types of higher education, and which cannot be measured at all by a written examination. Educationists would do well to study these evaluation formulae. The inference is that the schools may be spending one hundred percent of their effort on things which are only thirty three percent important.

#### Relation to Secondary Education

Generally the student wishing to enter an applied science course must have almost exactly the same secondary school training as he would require to enter an arts course in Philosophy or Modern Languages. Is this reasonable? A criticism commonly directed at the secondary schools is that their courses suit only the student who is intended for university, but since the majority of students do not go to university, they serve this majority rather badly.

Oriental students, destined from birth to become scholars, are frequently denied the opportunity to develop any manual skill save writing. As a consequence, except in mathematics, they are often a great disappointment as post graduate students where original research work is required. Now actually many Canadian students suffer to some extent from the same handicap. One wonders whether engineers—and also medical doctors, dentists and some others—might derive a considerable benefit if there were introduced into the primary and secondary schooling further opportunities for the acquisition of manual skill.

One subject now taught in engineering schools might well be moved back to the secondary school level; namely, mechanical drawing (mechanical in contradistinction to freehand). The secondary school student has all the prerequisites and all the skill required to learn this drawing. Moreover, it would undoubtedly have a greater appeal to him then, as it would present a challenge which is usually lacking at the college level.

The final observation on the secondary school training is that it re-

presents a very narrow bridge into the university. Is it necessary that with all of the things to which youth might be exposed he be exposed to these particular subjects, all of these particular subjects and only these? The writer is much more concerned with the ability of the student admitted to the college than with the particulars of the training which has been received en route.

### Comments on Curricula

A detailed study of the curricula for the various years of each of the seventy odd courses taught in Canada is beyond the scope of this short review. Some comments are offered, however.

Changes in curricula occur slowly with the passing of time. A serious lag seems to exist between the time when changes are needed and the time when they are made. There are definite reasons for this. Professor X has been teaching "Engineering A" for forty-one years. When he started his teaching career this subject was already on its way out. Twenty years later it had disappeared from most college curricula, but Professor X was then in his prime and he could vigorously defend his pet subject. Today Professor X is retiring, and for the last few years his colleagues out of respect for his seniority have refrained from trying to remove this subject from the course. It will be dropped when he retires.

In few places do those who execute policy also decide it. But in universities the decision as to what is taught lies with the teachers. Great stability is an attribute of such a system, radical change a virtual impossibility.

Canadian curricula in engineering disclose an almost complete absence of the humanities and social sciences. The only non-engineering subjects to be found are sometimes English, in the first year only, and Economics, usually in the final year. Too frequently the description of the English course is something like this: "Technical Writing—This course offers instruction in the preparation and writing of technical papers and reports, with emphasis upon the organization and forms appropriate to such work." More often than not the economics will be "Engineering Economics".

The engineering schools of our neighbors to the south, always a little less patient with delay than we, have nearly all introduced about a 20 per cent content of general (i.e. non-technical education) into their curricula. In Canada one school has a 6 per cent content, the others about 3 per cent or less. We seem to err in giving courses so predominantly technological.

### Development of Personal Characteristics

Reference has already been made to the derivation by industry of personnel evaluation formulae. These formulae take account of many factors,

some related to technical proficiency and some related to personal characteristics, each suitably weighted. The writer knows of no formula which does not ascribe more importance to personal qualities than to proficiency in the field of specialization. Personal qualities generally carry an importance two or three times that of the technical proficiency.

Our schools on the other hand expend almost all of their effort in making the student technically competent, and make little deliberate effort to develop personal qualities. The possibilities of a few of these will be dealt with.

#### (a) Integrity

Topmost on almost any list of necessary and desirable personal qualities comes integrity or personal honesty. It has always seemed amazing that this quality should be assumed totally absent one day and present the next, yet this is exactly the assumption made with the engineering student at the end of his final year. At his examinations he is supervised, watched and guarded as though not one in a hundred were honest. Yet a few hours later his employer is expected to find him as honest as the day is long—an amazingly abrupt transition! At many U.S. schools the "honor system" is in operation with great success. This system places complete responsibility in the hands of the student who is assumed to be honest, co-operative and above all, appreciative of being considered honest. One suspects that during the four years he is at college even the student of dubious probity may learn to admire and may adopt some of that priceless quality with which he has at all times been attributed.

#### (b) Initiative

A senior colleague once said that men belong to two classes—the self-starters and the self-stoppers. The latter when assigned a task work along until they meet an obstacle; at that point they sit down and do no further work until their supervisor comes along and tells them what to do next. The self-starters can recognize what jobs should be done and will start work themselves. This valuable self-starting quality is known as initiative. Do we develop or retard the initiative of the student?

Here we seem to do much better than we do with integrity, but even here there is room for improvement. The limited opportunity that exists is in the practical and laboratory work. In an attempt to get through a maximum amount of work the experiments are too frequently already set up and the operating procedure is written down to the last detail. One cannot help but wonder how much more value might be derived from fewer experiments performed, but with more initiative required from the student. Are our objectives well selected?



### (c) Ability to get along with others

This invaluable characteristic is already possessed by at least half of the students on entry. Athletics in the form of team games is a very effective means of promoting it, but here the student least likely to need the benefit is the one most likely to obtain it.

From experience the writer suggests that residence life is wonderfully effective in training an individual to get along with his fellows. Probably the significant factor is living away from home. Fortunate indeed is the student who must leave home in order to attend college, for he will get two educations instead of one. Ideally, therefore, universities should be located in small towns and should have extensive dormitory facilities. In this way most students would be required to live away from home and would derive these extra benefits (at some extra expense to the students, be it noted.)

### Educational Objectives

One classifies engineers in five groups according to the kind of work in which they finally engage, thus:—

- |  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| (a) Administrator                        | (Manager)        |
| (b) Professional engineer                | (Chief Engineer) |
| (c) Technologist                         | (Draughtsman)    |
| (d) Business man in semi-technical field | (Salesman)       |
| (e) Worker in wholly unrelated field     | (Musician)       |

During the early stages of their careers men frequently move from one of these groups to another. During the 1930's many graduates took work in unrelated fields but moved back into engineering work again in the '40's.

It might be said that the objective of universities is to train men for the two top rungs of the above illustrative ladder. Their difficulty in attempting to avoid turning out technologists is that they are unable to distinguish with any certainty the future technologist from the future engineer when he is admitted as a student (or for that matter when he is turned out into the world with his bachelor's degree.)

What really determines the nature and quality of the graduate—the inherent personal characteristics of man himself, the curriculum, or the quality of the teaching? The writer believes that the nature of the man considerably overshadows the importance of what he is taught or how he is taught it. If this is so then our engineering schools should pay far more attention to the question of selecting the men on whom they will confer their degrees than to deciding what subjects they will teach them. Are we underestimating the importance of a vital function, that of sorting?

It is stated above that some of our graduates never rise above the level of technologists. Should these men have been routed through another kind of school? Is there more need for the Technological Institute to take care of the man who needs technical training beyond the secondary school but who is never destined for the university degree? To this latter question the answer is "yes". To the former question the answer is "no", because these students have qualifications indistinguishable from those of their classmates who finally rise to the professional pinnacle. It seems unimportant therefore that we may fail to achieve our objective with some fraction of our students. But one would be very alarmed if it were thought that our schools had chosen a less than adequate objective solely to be more certain of achieving it.

#### EDUCATIONAL MACHINERY

##### Physical Facilities

For undergraduate teaching the physical facilities are certainly of minor importance. The laboratories need not be filled with up-to-date equipment, indeed for teaching purposes obsolete equipment often serves very well, but it is very helpful to have some modern examples on display.

The case for superior equipment exists however at the post graduate level, and here the quantity and to some extent the quality of the graduate work will depend on the resources of the university. Actually the direct effect on the student is not so great as the effect on the staff. The ability of the staff to conduct experimental work will depend in no small measure on their ability to obtain research equipment—very often special apparatus of their own design (helium liquefaction apparatus, cyclotrons, wind tunnels) costing large sums. While it cannot be denied that "research brains" is the vital element, yet it should be noted that these "brains" tend to migrate to places where the equipment can be obtained.

In this regard the Canadian engineering schools are not in a good position. The University of Toronto is perhaps best situated, but the comparison between Toronto and the foremost institutions abroad is not in our favour.

Dormitory buildings are very important items of physical equipment, likely to be neglected. Most Canadian universities are inadequately provided with them. As mentioned earlier the student who lives in a university residence receives enormous benefits not obtained by the student living at home. He receives a broad general knowledge in fields other than his own and this without effort on his part simply by associating with his fellow students. In addition to this acquired knowledge he gains much in personality development through being required to learn to live with

others. Living in residence is a maturing process not experienced by the student who lives at home.

### Teachers' Salaries

The well known phenomenon of low pay for members of the teaching profession extends to and through the ranks of university teachers. In engineering colleges, it cannot be denied that salaries are probably somewhat higher than in liberal arts colleges, because of the competition by industry for the services of first-class professional men. A teacher must have a certain love for his work. This together with other compensations of the academic life offset the lower monetary reward, and permit universities to keep, on the whole, reasonably high quality teaching staffs.

At the present time it is very difficult for the engineering schools to fill junior teaching jobs. Far too often the men selected are simply second or third rate men who are still unemployed when the fall term begins. They are happy to take a sessional appointment to see them through the winter, and the university serves admirably as a base of operations from which to look for more permanent and gainful employment. All too frequently the better of these men—still well below first-class in mental equipment—are retained year after year and ultimately promoted into the professorial grades. In this manner there is a correlation between pay and teacher quality. It is more important to be able to compete successfully for junior men than for senior. With some good young men on the staff being developed to fill the gaps, a few losses from the seniors due to industrial competition can be withstood.

### Post Graduate Study

There is little tendency for Canadian engineering graduates, once they have found satisfactory employment, to return from industry for post graduate study. On the other hand, there is a small but definite fraction of young graduates who remain at college for an additional year and obtain a Master's degree.

In most instances one of the requirements for the Master's degree is a thesis based on original research work. Very few engineers will again be concerned with research, and the writer wonders very much if the offerings of graduate courses to engineers are well suited to their needs.

Possibly a fifth year containing advanced courses of lectures and accompanying laboratory work might well fill the need of the engineer. Indeed, some courses now offered at the undergraduate level the writer would be inclined to withdraw and convert to graduate courses (aeronautical engineering for example). Perhaps quite a few engineers may



wish advanced courses in a narrow field of specialization but may not be interested in research work.

Very few engineers indeed proceed to the Ph.D level and of these the majority will perhaps abandon engineering in favour of careers in pure science or pedagogy. Except to staff their research departments industry has little need for Ph.D's. It has already been pointed out as a peculiarity of Canadian industry that it depends greatly on research and development work which is done outside of Canada. Engineers who intend to stay at home must think twice before deciding on proceeding to the doctorate.

The writer has been surprised and disappointed to notice that at the present time the quality of some of the engineering graduates returning for a Master's degree (at Toronto) is less than the best. The really good scholars are immediately employed by industry and some rather second-rate men are entering the graduate school, perhaps endeavouring to offset their mediocrity with a superior education.

On the whole post graduate study is a very minor part of Canadian engineering education at the present time; the trend away from this state is slow.

### The Five Year Course

Undoubtedly the greatest shortcoming of present applied science curricula is the deficiency of cultural and humanistic subjects. Many educators recognize this defect, but the completely filled timetable does not permit the addition of these subjects, except through the process of dropping a scientific or technological subject to make room.

Unfortunately the amount of basic science which must be taught is greater than ever before, and there is pressure to add material rather than remove it.

The only solution to this problem would seem to be an increase in the length of the course. Up to the present time necessary adjustments have been made because there was in earlier curricula a lot of material which could well be sacrificed. This has been done and the limit to accommodation by this process has nearly been reached. The next step is to lengthen the course by one year.

The writer believes that the five year applied science course is inevitable, and that the time to introduce it has nearly arrived.

### THE EVALUATION OF RELATIVE SUCCESS

#### The Criteria of Success

In evaluating the success which is being achieved in teaching applied science in Canada, the writer would like to apply the following three criteria:

1. Do other countries send their students to our schools?
2. Do other countries accept or compete for our graduates?
3. Do other countries use text books written by our teachers?

Taking these in order, first, what is the position with respect to foreign students? We do get students from South America, China, India, Turkey and Greece to name a few important sources. There are almost none from England, U.S.A., France, Germany (except immigrants). Canadian students, particularly graduates, seek to enter Oxford, Cambridge, M.I.T., and Harvard, but one can discern no tendency for foreign students to seek any Canadian school for similar reasons. It would seem as though our schools were clearly second grade in quality on a world-wide basis.

Do other countries accept or compete for our graduates? Here the answer is in the affirmative. Our graduates are highly esteemed in the U.S.A. and in England.

Finally what about books? Are our professors producing their share of the top quality books which are bought and used in other countries? It is believed that we lose on this score. The writer's own technical library provides eloquent testimony. It contains not a single volume by any Canadian author! It seems that we do not produce books for our own use much less for the use of others (a few notable exceptions can always be found).

### Final Evaluation

Much more importance has already been attributed to the inherent qualities of the man than to the educational treatment which he receives. It seems quite reasonable therefore that criterion (2) above should indicate success. Our good graduates will compare favourably with those from other schools. But this is not the same as saying that our schools compare favourably; criteria (1) and (3) suggest that they do not.

There is evidence that the national need for applied science graduates is just barely being met in matter of quality though amply supplied in quantity.

To effect an improvement in quality of graduate we must strive through stimulation of research and post graduate teaching to improve the quality of our teaching staff. The reputation of the school is simply the aggregate of the reputations of the individual teachers. There is very little post graduate activity in Canadian engineering schools. The remedy may be simple but it will not be quickly achieved. Top quality staff must be supported with adequate research facilities. At present we tend not to

get top quality staff and our research facilities are inadequate. It is believed that present teaching is economically efficient, hence any marked change in quality will involve additional costs.

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## MUSIC

SIR ERNEST MACMILLAN

### FOREWORD

IN COMPILING this survey I have made every effort to be reasonably objective but the personal note has doubtless crept in here and there. The fact that a somewhat disproportionate amount of space has been devoted to music in and near Toronto is hardly surprising. It may indeed be taken as an illustration of a tendency to which reference is made early in this Report. In spite of much travel through the various provinces and cities of Canada and in spite of frequent personal contacts with most of our leading musicians, there is much that I have had to omit from lack of detailed information.

Other omissions have been deliberate. I am fully conscious of the wide musical and social value of competitive festivals, of the work of the Canadian Bandmasters' Association and band work among boys through Kiwanis Clubs and other organizations; I appreciate greatly much fine work done by amateur orchestral groups in various communities and by all too few groups that devote themselves to chamber music. It may seem ungracious on my part to leave unnoticed the Fine Arts Clubs in so many schools of Western Canada, that have done me the honour of adopting my name. A complete picture of our musical life would have to take cognizance of these and many other significant features. However it is impossible to include everything within reasonable space and I trust that those features which I have selected will give a fairly comprehensive picture. I trust too that I have made clear what are our chief handicaps and what can and should be done to strengthen and develop Canadian music so that the future may abundantly fulfil the rich promise held by the present.

Interest in serious music in Canada has grown prodigiously during the past twenty or twenty-five years. This is of course true of most countries, due largely to the mechanical reproduction of sound through the radio and the gramophone. Taste develops more gradually but, while it is probably true that a majority of our people have ears only for music of what is euphemistically termed "the lighter type", a large and increasing section of our public has learned to listen with discrimination and to enjoy the best.

In most centres concert schedules have expanded beyond all belief and attendance at musical events has on the whole been highly gratifying to their promoters. Standards of performance have improved to meet the demands of a more critical public.

Music in our schools is being taken more seriously by many educational authorities, although the support of others is still grudging enough; and many accept the dictum of the late Principal Eliot of Harvard, that music is "the best mind trainer of the curriculum". Music teachers and teaching institutions are on the whole busily occupied. This is to some extent due to general economic prosperity and, since 1945, to opportunities offered by the Department of Veterans' Affairs. Concerts and broadcasts given for children and adolescents are well attended and the response is generally keen and intelligent. Among present-day students in advanced grades a greater proportion than formerly cherish serious aims and their outlook on music has broadened.

An excellent measuring stick for public taste is the sale of recordings of serious music. This has grown of late years by leaps and bounds; one firm alone report an increase of at least 500% in this department in the last fifteen years. Manufacturers of pianos and many other musical instruments often have difficulty in keeping pace with the demand. In short, music is "big business" and a thorough economic survey—including the economics of the music teaching profession—would undoubtedly impress those in authority with its importance from this point of view. Such a survey should of course concern itself with quality as well as quantity. Like all the arts, music is a force to be reckoned with in the moulding of national character—all the more so because much of it is unconsciously assimilated.

#### COMPOSITION IN CANADA

Music, like most Canadian cultural life, has developed largely on provincial lines and has been strongly influenced, both favourably and adversely, by proximity to the United States. Creative activity lags behind performance but as it is in the long run the most important manifestation of musical life, let us deal with it first. In spite of greatly increased activity during recent years one finds it difficult to trace any distinctively national idiom in Canadian composition as a whole.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this is not altogether a bad thing or perhaps we err in expecting its appearance too soon, for such national traits usually develop later in music than in literature and the visual arts. French Canada is the only large section

<sup>1</sup>It is an arguable question whether such distinctive traits are present in the music of the United States as a whole, other than those based on the jazz idiom. However, this is not the place to discuss such a subject, though it may be pointed out that developments in the United States have been subject to conditions very similar to ours.

of our country where a living and familiar folk-lore exercises a powerful influence on composers, and French-speaking Canadians usually write music showing a definitely French colouring. Sea-songs (mostly of English origin) collected in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and elsewhere have been used as a basis for extended works; native Indian music has, more rarely, been drawn upon. Some of our English-speaking composers have made use of the wealth of material collected by Dr. Marius Barbeau and others from French-Canadian and Indian sources, but others feel it alien to them and some do not, in any case, feel disposed to use folk-music of any kind in their works. We have no characteristic national dances, and it is usually dance rhythms that give a distinctive flavour to the music of other nations. Our composers are influenced by varied traditions—German, English, Russian and, especially among those who have studied in the United States, American music. Some of our talented musicians have shown much invention and ingenuity in the composition of “background” music for films and radio broadcasts; many of these deal with Canadian subjects. Concert music has often been based on Canadian geography and the Canadian landscape, but a mere title or programme does not give the music itself a national stamp. The very diversity of our traditions and of “source” material only serves to emphasize the lack of unifying influences; hence the lack of national traits. Although the importance of national traits in music can be over-emphasized, nevertheless most musically productive nations have at some time passed through a period when nationalism bore rich fruit and it is good to see so many Canadian composers at least drawing inspiration from the Canadian scene. Perhaps in the end this will lead to results as distinctive as those achieved in Canadian landscape painting. In the long run national traits in music become indistinguishable from the characteristics of a nation’s great composers; we cannot create great composers but we can and should prepare the ground for them and meantime give every encouragement to the highly talented composers now amongst us.

Composers in Canada suffer from serious handicaps which those of some other countries have not to face. Inasmuch as these difficulties have been outlined in the brief presented by the Canadian Music Council to the Royal Commission, I need not detail them here. Practical suggestions for solving some of these problems include: (i) Increased facilities for performances, which are not profitable from a box-office point of view.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>As an example of the public’s reluctance to support the work of Canadian composers, one might cite the concert of Canadian works given by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra in January, 1948. Total box office receipts were \$631 of which almost \$500 was taken by various Canadian music publishers for distribution to their staffs. The concert was well advertised (at a cost of \$1,210) and the total expense was \$3,596; a deficit of \$2,965 was borne by the Composers Authors and Publishers Association of Canada. Part of this concert



(ii) Increased facilities for publication, recording and dissemination of Canadian works, including the copying and duplication of orchestral scores and parts. (iii) Wide public stressing of the need in Canada for establishment of such private foundations as those which, in the United States, do much to assist composers in bringing their works to light. Too few of our wealthy citizens seem to be in the least aware that such a need exists. (iv) A widespread public propaganda both internal and external on behalf of Canadian composers, such as nearly every other country now provides for its own music. The British Council, for example, receives an annual grant of over £2,000,000 sterling to cover external propaganda alone, a large proportion of its activities being concerned with music.

No amount of assistance will, of course, create composers of the first rank, for "the wind bloweth where it listeth". Nevertheless Canada is already producing enough music of significance to justify substantial assistance and the creation of more favourable conditions would do much toward fertilizing ground that would otherwise be barren.

#### THE C.B.C. AND CANADIAN COMPOSITION

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has done much to bring Canadian works to light within our own borders. Its International Service has been helpful in paying for and disseminating abroad recordings of Canadian works; it is a pity however that the latter are not generally marketed in Canada and one would welcome reports on how extensively they are actually heard abroad. But such activities merely scratch the surface of the problem. C.B.C. officials are naturally too busy as a rule to give adequate time and attention to securing, selecting and classifying original compositions and could be greatly helped by an independent body. Moreover, broadcasting is at best only one means, however important, by which a knowledge of Canadian works may be disseminated, and other activities lie outside the field of the Corporation.

#### NEED OF READILY AVAILABLE INFORMATION

A published history of musical activity in Canada supplemented by and annual handbook, covering both performance and composition, is a crying need.<sup>1</sup> Up to now information has been sparse, lacking in coordina-

was broadcast over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Dominion network and aroused much interest, but it is obvious that such a venture cannot be often repeated without adequate financial backing. One would hope, however, that once established, such events would gain popular support.

It is more encouraging to learn that the Symposium of Canadian Music held in March 1950 in Vancouver came within some \$1,500 of paying its way.

<sup>1</sup>I have before me as I write *The Year's Work in Music* for 1948-49, prepared and published by the British Council, comprising eighty pages plus nine

tion and often difficult to obtain. Our Department of External Affairs and our representatives abroad are at a loss to answer inquiries on such matters and frequently appeal to the Canadian Music Council; the latter body for its part, though anxious to be helpful, has never been in a position to conduct a thorough survey. Preparation and compilation of the material for such informative literature would, especially in the initial stages, call for much time and effort. Without prospects of reasonable financial compensation no qualified person could be expected to undertake it; up to the present, suggestions to publishers that they undertake the financial risk involved have met with a cold reception.

#### NEED OF A CANADIAN MUSICAL PERIODICAL

Canadian music suffers seriously from lack of an adequate and comprehensive musical press. Sporadic attempts to maintain musical journals in Canada have up to now failed partly because their appeal has been largely local; this handicap can be overcome only by an organization capable of paying qualified correspondents in the leading centres for regular reports. Moreover, to fulfil its functions adequately such a publication should be bilingual and appear in duplicate issues. Music can be a binding force in our national life only if each section knows what the other is doing. It is obvious that such a venture would call for a considerable outlay but, wisely edited and maintained, it might after a few years be able to carry itself, for, as has been pointed out, there is a wide public in Canada interested in matters musical.

In some centres the local press has been liberal in its allowance of space to musical affairs but daily newspapers are apt to be subject to the whims of their editors, to pressure from local groups (and perhaps in some cases from advertisers), and emoluments to writers on music are not often such as to entice the most highly qualified persons to become music critics. We can be thankful for the few well informed ones we have. Some papers still publish extensive musical articles but as no daily newspaper in Canada has a wide national circulation (such as, for instance, the *Times* or the *Manchester Guardian* in England) most of the articles on music are of local and ephemeral interest. For reviews of new music, books on musical subjects, recordings and the like we depend largely on non-Canadian publications.

#### MUSICAL PERFORMERS

In the field of musical performance Canada is still far too dependent pages of illustrations and a few pages of advertisements of publishers, recording companies, etc.; the latter doubtless reduce the cost considerably. On the history of music in England and its composers there is, of course, an extensive literature.

upon American agencies. Although we are at a great advantage as compared, for example, with Australia or South Africa, in having the greatest artists of the world at our door and thereby enjoying a more varied concert season so far as imports are concerned, there can be no doubt that a great deal of our own promising talent is lost through lack of opportunity for concert routine. In addition to talent and sound training, a young artist needs to develop the poise and confidence that can come only through frequent public appearances. The concert field of the present day is intensely competitive and is apparently growing more so and it is unreasonable to expect the public to be content with a second-rate Canadian artist merely because he or she is a Canadian. Nevertheless a management that can offer a few outstanding and internationally known "names" in a series is at an immense advantage when it comes to "selling" those of smaller calibre. Canadian agencies are rarely in a position to do this. Neither have they facilities for organizing and financing an intensive selling campaign such as that, for instance, of Mr. Ward French's Community Concert Service which has in recent years controlled so great a part of our concert field particularly in the smaller centres of Canada. While welcoming the many fine artists presented one cannot but feel that in some cases equally good or better artists could be found in Canada; this has, indeed, been recognized to some extent by the organization in question which has already taken a number of Canadians under its wing.

Many Canadian bodies promoting the giving of concerts are alive to the situation and there has been a growing demand for the inclusion of Canadian artists in certain series. Some of the women's clubs have instituted the practice of presenting a certain number of Canadians each season<sup>1</sup> and at least one enterprising community (in Forest Hill, Toronto) even commissions Canadian composers to write works especially for their series. The Ontario Department of Education has for the last four years subsidized tours, chiefly of Canadian artists, in the smaller places, where concerts are given in school halls. In four seasons the number of such concerts increased from sixty-two to a hundred and thirty-five. Public response has been so gratifying that the first season's subsidy (\$7,209) has scarcely been exceeded in subsequent years. Other provinces have expressed great interest in this scheme and I believe there is some similar arrangement in the Maritime Provinces.

Several concert managers work on behalf of Canadian artists, in some cases with a certain degree of success. Nevertheless the influence of the great American organizations is very powerful and our own are labouring under a severe handicap.

<sup>1</sup>Since 1946 The Women's Musical Club of Toronto has followed a policy of engaging 50 per cent of its artists from among Canadian professional musicians.



## SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS IN CANADA

A list of symphony orchestras on this continent, published two years ago by the *International Musician* (organ of the American Federation of Musicians), listed some eighteen Canadian orchestras; the number has since increased. This naturally includes some organizations of a rather loose nature. The players in many are by no means full-time professionals, the number of concerts given annually is in some cases small and the remuneration often almost negligible. Naturally the quality of the playing in such cases cannot be high but at least the figures show that many people are interested in this form of musical activity and quality is likely to improve with time. The Symphony Orchestra of Quebec is the oldest established body of its kind in Canada and the Ottawa Orchestra has of late made much progress but the best known and most thoroughly equipped orchestras in Canada are those of Montreal (*l'Orchestre des Concerts Symphoniques*), Vancouver, Winnipeg and Toronto. I am naturally in a position to give the most detailed information regarding the last named.

The Toronto Symphony Orchestra operated in the Season 1949-50 on a budget of \$291,964. 80 per cent of this was "earned" revenue which compares very favourably with the 65 per cent average of orchestras in the United States. The total number of concerts given was seventy-nine including subscription concerts, concerts for elementary and secondary school students, twenty-seven Friday "Pop" concerts sponsored by the Robert Simpson Company, nine out-of-town concerts (all in Ontario), eight special concerts, including a number for which the services of the orchestra were sold to other organizations.

The greatly increased number of public appearances has resulted in a marked improvement in the quality of playing. Similar statistics from other leading orchestras would doubtless present many equally encouraging features; the rapid growth of orchestral activity in Vancouver during post-war years was particularly striking.

Canadian orchestral programmes are criticised in some quarters as over-conservative; box-office and other financial considerations do indeed tend to make them so and one regrets that so many outstanding contemporary works have still to be given their first Canadian presentation. It would be helpful if special groups were formed in the various centres to encourage and if possible subsidize the performance of such works and help to explain their nature and technique to a sometimes bewildered public.

In these days of broadcasting, inevitable comparisons are naturally made not only between the different Canadian orchestras but also with orchestras in the United States which operate on budgets three or four

times as large. Such competition presents a challenge which makes for the most strenuous efforts and one could not wish things to be otherwise.

Yet Canadian orchestras do operate under some special handicaps. None is able to secure the full-time services of its musicians and the fact that many of them are engaged for outside weekly broadcasts precludes any possibility of an orchestra's undertaking extended tours. One would wish, too, that professional musicians in Canada could secure the best instruments available (which are in point of fact the tools of their trade) without being compelled to pay the duty that applies to those of foreign manufacture.<sup>1</sup>

A further handicap to our best orchestras and choirs is the apparent reluctance of recording companies to make any extensive recordings of serious music in this country. It is many years since R.C.A. Victor engaged the Toronto Symphony Orchestra to record four works which covered fifteen sides (7½ double-sided records) and the orchestra of *Les Concerts Symphoniques de Montréal* to record an approximately similar amount. The same company has recorded occasional performances by smaller organizations and by individual artists. As far as I am aware no other company has in recent years recorded any orchestral music of any significance in Canada, and very little of any kind, apart from a few arrangements of folk-songs and short pieces. In these days, when the reputation of an artist or performing organization rests largely on recordings, one could wish that the recording companies, protected as they are by substantial tariffs and probably earning large revenues in this country, would be more enterprising in making known the best that Canada has to offer. Only one of the orchestral volumes recorded for the C.B.C.'s International Service has, so far as I know, been marketed in Canada.

#### CHORAL MUSIC

Choral music in Canada, though relatively less prominent than in years gone by and tending in some quarters to take on a professional character, still presents many healthy features. Some of our large choirs continue to maintain public popularity and to function effectively in presenting the greater choral works but most of the recently established choirs are smaller groups, specializing for the most part in short *a cappella*

<sup>1</sup>The removal, about fifteen years ago, of the tariff on instruments more than one hundred years old was a great relief to string players and many fine old instruments were thereby made available to the players. But further concessions are highly desirable especially in the case of instruments not made in Canada. The first harpist of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, who recently found it necessary to buy a new Lyon and Healy (Chicago) harp, has been compelled to pay \$672.28 duty and taxes. As harps are not made in Canada the imposition of a heavy duty seems gravely unjust. Many other instances might be cited; obviously only instruments of the best quality have any place in a symphony orchestra.

works and programmes of a lighter type. Many of the best have been outgrowths of school choirs, especially in centres where a sound foundation is laid in the teaching of class singing. The results at their best have been admirable and do much to justify generous support of music on the part of the school authorities. Choral singing, especially when not professional, is perhaps the most democratic form of musical activity and exercises a social influence that must on no account be underrated. The existence of large choral societies is essential to the production of some of the world's greatest music and the practice of choral singing must at all costs be kept alive. In passing one might say that competitive festivals, (especially in Western Canada where they have been longest established) have on the whole proved especially beneficial in this field.

#### OPERA IN CANADA

Opera, which has always had a strong hold on public esteem in the Province of Quebec,<sup>1</sup> has taken on renewed life in Toronto since the establishment of a well-directed Opera School in the Royal Conservatory. The C.B.C. has been quick to capitalize on the fine work done in this school and has broadcast a number of performances of high merit and even of genuine distinction judged by any standards. Recently formed opera companies in Halifax and elsewhere have also presented productions of high calibre. It is not my purpose to enlarge on this, in view of the fact that a brief on the subject has already been presented to the Royal Commission, but recent activities have shown beyond doubt that much talent of this type exists in this country. One applauds too the policy of presenting a goodly proportion of the operas in English or French. Given first class direction, sufficient stage routine and financial backing, opera can come to full fruition and become an important feature of our musical life. One of the principal handicaps however is the lack of theatres with full equipment for operatic productions; a national opera house is at present probably only a dream but we may hope that at some future time it may become a reality.

Ballet too is making great progress in Canada. Though in a sense outside the scope of this report, it is intimately connected with our musical life.

#### MUSICAL EDUCATION IN CANADA

Of the standard of private teaching in Canada one can only say that

<sup>1</sup>One remembers the fine Montreal Opera Company of the early decades of this century and must pay tribute to the excellent annual productions of *Les Festivals de Montréal*. These and other organizations have brought some of the best known international artists before Canadian audiences.



it varies widely here as in other countries and one could wish that, for the protection of the public, at least a minimum standard, such as obtains in many other professions, could be imposed on anyone wishing to make a living in this field. The Canadian Music Teachers' Federation through its provincial affiliates has been doing valuable work with this end in view and it is to be hoped that the public will come to demand some form of teachers' registration and that such registration will be a guarantee of the teacher's qualifications. Already bills establishing a form of registration have been passed by some of our provincial legislatures<sup>1</sup> but much remains to be done before the situation can be regarded as really satisfactory. The examination systems of our leading institutions, however open to abuse, have a salutary effect; the quality of private teaching is on the whole of higher grade than obtains in countries where no such general standard is recognized.

#### MUSIC IN OUR UNIVERSITIES AND UNIVERSITY SCHOOLS

Canada has several music schools of high merit, chiefly those connected by some form of ownership by or affiliation with universities. The *Conservatoire National de Musique et de l'Art Dramatique* operates under a substantial grant from the Quebec Government through the *Université de Montréal* and is thus enabled to give expert instruction free of charge to a limited number of talented students. The McGill Conservatorium, enjoying an endowment which most Canadian institutions would regard as substantial, has consistently maintained high standards in its tuition and examinations. The Royal Conservatory of Music of Toronto, the largest school in the Dominion and perhaps in the world, is owned and controlled by the University of Toronto. In so far as it is not self-supporting, it is indirectly dependent upon provincial grants and on private donations for scholarships. The relation of the Faculties of Music of these universities to the school of music are somewhat similar, the faculties being concerned almost exclusively with candidates for university degrees. Schools of Music, sponsored and more or less controlled by other universities, include Saskatoon, Mount Allison, N.B., Wolfville, N.S., and others. Valuable teachers' training courses are given by the University of Western Ontario and the University of Alberta (in the Banff Summer School). Other universities such as U.B.C. and Queen's include on their staff a professor or director of music whose function is to give more or less formal instruction of a non-professional type and to stimulate a general interest in music among the student body.

The place of music and the other arts in a university has always been

<sup>1</sup>Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. A similar bill is likely to be passed soon in Nova Scotia.

a much debated question and each institution must solve the problem for itself; to a great extent the solution may be conditioned by circumstances beyond its control. A university situated in a great centre of population, where facilities for attending musical events are many and varied, is at a great advantage especially when it is a question of training professional musicians. When the University of Toronto took control of the Toronto Conservatory of Music in 1921, the latter was already established as the largest Canadian institution of its kind; it was a loose and somewhat unwieldy organization but it was able to pay its way and continued to do so until the early thirties when the general economic situation led to difficulties and deficits which the University was forced to meet. This has in the long run proved advantageous for, although conditions are now immensely improved and registrations have soared even beyond the figures of 1929, it is now recognized that no educational institution can adequately fulfil its functions on a commercial basis. Even as it is, however, the students—except the limited number allotted scholarships and those registered in the recently established Senior School—are in the position of customers. They are able (and often forced by limited funds) to select their own subjects and to determine the amount of time they can give to each. This works well enough in the case of those studying music as a diversion or for the sake of its cultural background but the professional student of music should be given (and if necessary forced to take) as complete and comprehensive a course as the student of medicine or law. At present the Faculty of Music in Toronto gives to would-be teachers of music in schools such a comprehensive course and the highly talented performer or composer may find in the Senior School complete courses designed to equip him or her as an artist. The great majority of Conservatory students may or may not be able and willing to make use of the many advantages the institution has to offer and may or may not be ready to accept advice. A musical education, depending to a great extent on individual instruction, is expensive and the problem of combining all the essentials in a course that could be offered even to a limited number of students at a reasonable cost has not yet been entirely solved. Most urgent at the moment is the establishment of a thorough training course for private teachers of music. Other schools of music are in a similar position and it would be difficult to think of any school of music where further funds could not be well spent.

An encouraging sign of progress in the Royal Conservatory has been the emergence of a number of promising composers. They have taken part twice in a symposium held annually in the United States, where original works by students of all the leading schools are given a hearing. So great has been the impression they have made that the 1950 symposium was held in Toronto.

While each university must decide for itself whether it will or will not sponsor or support a school of music, every university can and should recognize in a practical way the cultural value of music. Students should become acquainted with the great works of music as they do with those of literature. But merely talking about music and playing a few gramophone records (the usual procedure in a lecture on "music appreciation") is not enough. It is desirable that every university be equipped with a "music room" including a piano, a select library and a good collection of gramophone records together with turn-tables equipped with ear-phones so that a number of different records may be played at one time without disturbance. The university should also encourage the social side of music—for example, the "singing club", and arrange periodic visits of artists and lecturers. Much can often be done to spread general understanding of the art through extension courses.

In spite of the strides made of recent years much remains to be done if the present flow of young talent to the United States and elsewhere is to be effectively arrested. In some branches, to be sure, the high quality of teaching and adequate professional outlets, (such as the C.B.C. Opera Company and other radio and concert engagements) encourage our young artists to remain with us. It is fortunate that, in some parts of Canada at least, we do not suffer from that dearth of good string players which at present embarrasses many American orchestras. On the other hand many a potential concert artist never reaches his goal, owing to causes already outlined. There are also serious gaps in the faculties of some of our leading institutions and, as far as I am aware, no Canadian university offers musical post-graduate courses in musical research.

As long as we have on our border highly endowed and equipped schools of music which generously offer scholarships and other advantages to our students we must expect much talent to be lost—temporarily at any rate. A period of study abroad is of great value to advanced students; they do not always find instructors superior to those they have known at home, but at least they broaden their outlook, especially if they experience a totally different type of civilization. Unfortunately some who wish to return after a period of study elsewhere fail to find attractive openings at home.

The remedy for our loss of talent lies partly in a more generous endowment of our schools of music and partly in further outlets for the work of young artists both in Canada and, through suitable liaisons, in other countries. Exchanges of students with other countries are desirable but difficult to arrange.

#### MUSIC LIBRARIES

Canada suffers from the lack of a great library of music. The most



nearly complete, so far as I am aware, is that now housed in the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto, which has received substantial additions of late through purchases by the University Library and the Conservatory, and also through occasional gifts such as that of the British Council. Yet this library is far from adequate even to the needs of the present students, and the would-be musicologist would have to go to the United States or Europe to find his material on almost any specialized subject. It is obviously desirable that at least one Canadian university be equipped for serious post-graduate work and it is equally desirable that at least one library include a large body of Musical Canadiana. I would strongly urge that, in considering the establishment of a National Library the needs of music be kept in mind.

#### MUSIC IN THE C.B.C.

The over-all effect of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on our musical life has been highly beneficial; I for one would regard it as disastrous if control of radio were left entirely in private hands. From the point of view of employment offered to musicians the figures speak for themselves. Doubtless hundreds of Canadian musicians feel that their talents are insufficiently recognized and the smaller communities cast envious eyes on the larger centres where a large proportion of the broadcasting is inevitably concentrated. Yet one feels that the leading officials have on the whole made a conscientious effort to give opportunities to the most deserving. Figures showing a comparison of the amount of "live" broadcasting from our leading cities with that which originates in American cities of comparable size would doubtless show us to be in much the more favourable position.

From the point of view of public national interest, too, the C.B.C. has probably been the greatest single factor of recent years in making Canada conscious of its nationhood. Although a large proportion of its programmes have little or no cultural value, we must be grateful for many others of merit and distinction. Canadian traditions and Canadian life are brought vividly to our consciousness by many a programme which few commercial interests would sponsor.

Naturally the CBC is seriously restricted at present in its capacity for well doing. Its financial difficulties are only too familiar to members of the Royal Commission and even an outsider can realize the pressures—political, commercial and personal—to which its officials must be subjected from all sides. One can realize too how profoundly the listening public in this country is affected by the traditions of commercial radio. It takes courage to keep ahead—even a little ahead—of one's audience; fortunately that audience is sometimes found to be more intelligent than one had supposed.

Musicians as a whole, I believe, feel that in our national broadcasting system we have a valuable asset. One feels perhaps that its policy with regard to other musical organizations might be more clearly defined. There seems no likelihood at present of its undertaking the organization and management of public concerts as do the B.B.C. and the Australian Broadcasting Commission; up to now its practice has rather been to foster existing orchestras and other bodies or even (as in Winnipeg) to assist in bringing new ones into being. Yet one questions the wisdom of referring in broadcast announcements to what may be temporary aggregations of players as "the" C.B.C. Orchestra, and there have been rumors of plans for the formation of permanent bodies, well remunerated, that might seriously affect the personnel of existing groups. Nothing could be more natural than that the C.B.C. should wish to have, in the leading centres, the exclusive services of a permanent aggregation of fine players. Let us hope, however, that if this is contemplated due notice will be given and that a reasonable balance can be achieved as between publicly-controlled radio and privately-controlled organizations.

It would require fairly constant listening to comment on the general run of sustaining musical programmes broadcast by the C.B.C. and this is for me impossible. From those I hear and read about it seems evident that the C.B.C. does, within the inadequate limits of time allotted to serious music, present a fair cross section of the gifted musicians of Canada. Some of even the most ambitious programmes have been admirable; some of the recent production of the C.B.C. Opera Company and some of the *Wednesday Night* programmes, for instance, were genuine achievements. Others have been disappointing in quality of performance. The policy of "try-out" programmes—of allotting an occasional half hour to well equipped but comparatively inexperienced artists is a good one; even the commercial interests are aware of this, as the excellent *Singing Stars of Tomorrow* programme has demonstrated. Yet more discrimination might be shown in following up the best and discarding the weakest. One feels too that the services of some of our most highly qualified musicians and artists could be utilized more frequently. It is desirable that as many musicians of distinction as possible be taken into the counsels of the C.B.C.; even in a consultative capacity they would surely prove their worth. The present staff of the C.B.C. includes many musicians of high ability, but still greater efforts might be made to exploit to the full the finest musical resources of the nation.

#### THE ARTS COUNCIL AND THE MUSIC COUNCIL

It will be realized from what has been said in the preceding pages that there is an acute need of government support and of an official organization

if Canada is to develop musically as a nation. Situated as we are geographically and with the special problems of a bilingual and racially diversified community, we need more than most nations every possible co-ordinating force. Our country has a small population; it has as its next-door neighbour a much larger one that speaks one of our languages, is very friendly and enjoys many of the same traditions. The tendencies towards assimilation are powerful and if we wish to encourage those tendencies we have only to let things drift. But if, as I believe, Canada has features of distinction that may prove valuable in the comity of nations and if she wishes to remain independent, the arts can play a notable part in binding our nation together. We can also, by assimilating the best features of the two great English speaking nations and of France and adding what we have developed of our own, produce a national character which is no mere compromise but a positive type of civilization readily recognizable in the eyes of the world. But such developments need a more positive stimulus than they have hitherto been given by those in authority.

A National Arts Board such as that envisaged in the brief of the Canadian Arts Council could do much to consolidate, encourage and extend existing activities. I heartily agree that such a Board should include representatives from among our creative artists themselves and that existing bodies promoting on a national scale the aims and objects of the Board either be given strong representation and support or even if need be adopted as active sections.

Canada stands in need of an organization that will parallel both the British Council and the Arts Council of Great Britain; the work of these bodies, together with that of similar organizations in other countries should be examined in detail in planning similar activities in this country. Much thought and care will undoubtedly be necessary in drawing up a constitution for such a body but we shall not be working on unknown ground; probably we can benefit from a knowledge of the mistakes as well as of the successes of others.

All workers in the realm of the arts have been greatly encouraged and stimulated by the appointment of the Royal Commission. It is to be hoped that as a result of its activities, Canada will gradually win a position in the arts and sciences commensurate with her importance as a great and productive nation in other fields.

*(Sir Ernest Campbell MacMillan, B.A., Mus.D., (Oxon.), LL.D., Litt.D., Hon. R.A.M., F.R.C.M., F.R.C.O., is Dean of the Faculty of Music, University of Toronto, and Conductor of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra.)*





## THE THEATRE

### A DIALOGUE ON THE STATE OF THE THEATRE IN CANADA

ROBERTSON DAVIES

(Note: I have revived the characters of *Lovewit* and *Trueman* who, in a pamphlet on the condition of the English theatre in 1699, have already shown themselves admirable assistants in this sort of work. R.D.)

*Lovewit is seated in his study. To him, Trueman in haste.*

*Trueman:* Good morning, Lovewit; I am lucky to find you at home. You have heard the news?

*Lovewit:* That we two are to prepare a memorandum on the state of the theatre in Canada for the Royal Commission? It came to me by the morning post. What a chance to speak our minds!

*Trueman:* My dear fellow, you must contain yourself. A memorandum to a body of such solemnity and dignity will be no place for your jokes and your flights of exaggeration.

*Lovewit:* What, honest Trueman? Do you suggest that His Majesty's Commissioners are so far outside the bounds of common humanity that they cannot relish a joke now and then?

*Trueman:* I did not say so. But I have seen some of the petitions and memoranda which have been presented to them already, and they are, as the schoolboy said of the works of Matthew Arnold, "no place to go for a laugh". Indeed, I wonder if we can come up to the standard of sobriety which they have set.

*Lovewit:* Why, my dear fellow, it will be the easiest thing in the world. We will put down what we want to say in some form congenial to ourselves—as it may be, a dialogue—and when it is done we will send it to a bureaucrat or a public relations counsel to be translated into the proper style, for this language of official documents is not one which any artist can master.

*Trueman:* No literary artist would dare to touch it, for fear some of it would stick, like pitch, and ruin him. We must have plenty of tabulation of points, labelled (a), (b), and (c). And we must make a pretty show of numbers, and even Roman

numerals—But no; numerals look unbusinesslike, and our age wants its artists to be as businesslike as possible.

*Lovewit:* And rightly so. But to be businesslike, and to make a parade of the apparatus of business are different things. We will be businesslike, and the press agent shall make the parade.

*Trueman:* I know a needy, pragmatical fellow who, for a trifle of money, will supply us with a rare show of statistics to prove anything we choose to say, and these shall provide us with appendices to drag at the tail of our memorandum, and give it weight.

*Lovewit:* And I know an astrologer who has foresworn the casting of horoscopes and now gives all his time to making pie-charts for business houses.

*Trueman:* Oh rare! The press agent, the pedant, and the astrologer shall give our memorandum the modish air of a modern state paper. But if it is to have any sense in it, Lovewit, we must provide it.

*Lovewit:* You are right. And to talk sense about the theatre demands a high degree of self control, for it is the Temple of the Passions, and too often its devotees allow the passions to escape from the temple and invade their conversation.

*Trueman:* Let us resolve, here and now, to be as sensible as we can in what we say about the Canadian theatre.

*Lovewit:* To avoid special pleading—

*Trueman:* Ay, and to avoid also that pitfall of those who talk of the theatre—I mean what George Jean Nathan so aptly calls “ersatz profundity”.

*Lovewit:* Agreed! And yet never to forget that the theatre is an art, or a compost of many arts, and that it must be treated at all times with love. For he who makes the theatre his harlot, or his little-regarded companion of the evening, or his school-mistress, will never know her or enjoy her fairest favours. They know her best who love and serve her best.

*Trueman:* I suppose, for a beginning, we must answer those who question whether the theatre exists at all in Canada, in any form which deserves careful consideration. Yet it seems to me that it exists here, as it does everywhere in the world, in those centres of population which are big enough to support it. For whatever the enthusiasts may say, not everyone wants the theatre, and of those who want it, not all want it on the same level.

*Lovewit:* True, for the moving-pictures supply the wants of thousands of people who would seek their entertainment in the theatre



if no movies existed. But the theatre they would demand, and get, would be the theatre of windy melodrama and domestic comedy. In some countries the theatre can, and does, compete with the movies in providing this sort of fare, but it cannot be said to do so in Canada. The failure of many a Canadian travelling company, jaunting from town to town by car, and putting on its show with borrowed furniture, under the auspices of some local service club, is due to this alone: it is doing badly what the movies do much better. And when Canadian actors who have engaged in such pursuits say that Canadians are indifferent to the theatre, they delude themselves. The fact is that Canadians are indifferent to bad theatre.

*Trueman:* I am glad to hear you say so. For it appears to me that Canadians are as responsive to first-rate work as any other people. A Canadian audience may sometimes be naive; it may be a little behind the times when confronted with the latest confection from New York or London. Sometimes we are a little provincial. But we are by no means stupid.

*Lovewit:* I agree. And I may tell you, Trueman, that I have myself been an actor in London, and I have known London audiences to be naive, old-fashioned and provincial when confronted with something they did not understand. And need we suppose that a New York audience is any different? Their treatment of some fine plays certainly does not suggest it. I am with you: Canadians are as quick as anyone to recognize and applaud what is first-rate. Their reception of fine foreign artists has shown it.

*Trueman:* It must be said, however, that they have not yet put the stamp of unmistakeable approval upon any theatre artist of their own who has not first gained some recognition abroad.

*Lovewit:* There are two answers to that. Perhaps they have not yet found an artist of the theatre so plainly of the first rank that they choose to acclaim him. And also it is almost out of the question at present for a Canadian theatre artist to be seen in all parts of the country and thus to gain national acceptance. Monsieur Gratien G  linas hopes to try the experiment soon. If he succeeds as well in English as he has done in French, he will be the man.

*Trueman:* True: but it is not our task to prophesy. The artists of *Les Compagnons de St-Laurent* are also working on a very high level, but while they act in French their fame will be confined to Quebec and to that very small part of the English population

which knows French well enough to follow a play with pleasure—a proportion, I may say, which is even smaller than it professes itself to be. But in the English-speaking theatre who have we?

*Lovewit:* There is no one. And it is impossible to say how much the fame of Fridolin and *Les Compagnons* owes to the fact that their audience is a compact one compared with the audience which English-speaking actors face. No one doubts their ability, but it must be allowed that they are fortunate in not having to establish their celebrity in all ten provinces.

*Trueman:* We are agreed, then, that Canadians who care for the theatre at all are warmly responsive to first-rate theatre. And let us be generous in our definition of first-rate theatre: a classic thoroughly understood and finely presented, a display of virtuoso acting in a play of modest merit, a fine piece of ensemble work in a play of Tchekov or Ibsen, a farce played with skill and gusto—any of these may, in its degree, provide that special pleasure, that sense of exhilaration and fulfillment which first-rate theatre can give. For make no mistake, friend Lovewit, the theatre is a vigorous, living, and in a certain sense, a coarse art; it is vulgar in the true sense of the word. I am always suspicious of theatre-lovers who insist that they can only endure the finest plays performed to perfection. There are many kinds of excellence in the theatre, but all are recognizable by the completeness of the special effect which they produce upon the audience, and by the unmistakeable deep satisfaction which they give.

*Lovewit:* Do you think that this completeness of effect is often achieved in the theatre in Canada?

*Trueman:* Sometimes, certainly, in the performances of the professional companies which visit our big cities.

*Lovewit:* Ah, but they come to us from England or from the United States; we cannot count them.

*Trueman:* No, but we must not overlook them, for they provide examples for our native actors, and in the theatre, as in all arts, example is of the utmost value to those who would reach a high level of achievement themselves. The pity is that they come so seldom, and visit so few of our cities; for this reason we lack the constant inspiration of theatrical work on the highest level. It is an economic problem, of course. When the Old Vic visits New York it cannot come to Canada without losing money. When Gielgud brings us *Love for Love* he does so at a money

sacrifice, and the unfamiliarity of the play keeps people out of the theatre.

*Lovewit:* There you touch upon a point which we must not neglect. We have said that there is an audience in Canada for any sort of first-rate theatre. But there is one class of theatrical work which must be excepted, and that is the performance of unfamiliar classics. You spoke of *Love For Love*; our Canadian education is so poor in quality that virtually no Canadian who is not a university graduate in English has ever heard of its author, much less felt any anxiety to see his works on the stage. There are great realms of drama closed to us for this reason alone. In England, and to a very much lesser degree in the United States, it is possible to see plays performed which are out of the common run. But we Canadians are an illiterate people in this respect, and we fear the unknown as only the ignorant and the intellectually lazy can fear it. This is a matter, my dear Trueman, in which our country desperately needs reform.

*Trueman:* You will start no quarrel with me on that score, and I am as good a Canadian as yourself. I think it may fairly be said that except for two or three comedies of Shakespeare, *She Stoops To Conquer* and Sheridan's *Rivals* and *School For Scandal*, and two or three Ibsen bogies, a classic is rarely performed in the English-speaking theatre in this country.

*Lovewit:* An Australian told me recently that before he was eighteen he had seen twenty plays of Shakespeare performed, more or less ably, by the company which Alan Wilkie maintained in that country. This experience has enriched his life in a fashion inexplicable to most of our countrymen. Have you ever asked a group of Canadian schoolteachers, professionally engaged in teaching Shakespeare, how many Shakespearean plays they have seen on the stage?

*Trueman:* I confess that I have shrunk from such depressing investigation.

*Lovewit:* Their answers would sadden your heart and chill your blood, I promise you. What can they know about Shakespearean drama if they have never experienced it in its proper form? Who attempts to explain the works of Beethoven if he has never heard an orchestra play them?

*Trueman:* You need not confine your pity to schoolteachers alone. I think it very likely that a majority of Canadians of good education—as education goes here—and good financial estate, have never seen a Shakespearean play performed.



*Lovewit:* As far as the classics of the theatre are concerned, we are a nation of ignoramuses, and the oft-advanced excuse that because we do not know what we are missing we are none the worse for it, seems to me to be a disgraceful evasion.

*Trueman:* That brings us back to what I said a short time ago: I think that one reason why we slight the classics is that we lack the example and the tradition which is wanted by those who tackle them.

*Lovewit:* Tradition! You have hit it!

*Trueman:* Do not mistake me. A weight of tradition may be as great a handicap as none at all.

*Lovewit:* But a genuine, living tradition is constantly renewing itself, and the theatre, perhaps more than the other arts, relies upon a living tradition. The theatre has its relics and its apostolic succession, you know, and among actors reverence for the great ones of the theatre's past is a living and potent force.

*Trueman:* Your phrase "apostolic succession" catches my fancy. Will you not clarify what you mean?

*Lovewit:* With pleasure, if you will allow me a personal reminiscence. When I was a young and unimportant actor at the Old Vic I had several conversations with Ben Webster, who was himself of a great theatrical family; he told me how, when he and May Whitty, his wife, were touring on this continent on the fifth of Sir Henry Irving's visits, they helped to cheer the last hours of an old member of the company, Henry Howe, who died when they were in Cincinnati; "Evergreen" Howe was born in 1812 of a Quaker family, and when he wanted to go on the stage he asked advice of Edmund Kean. Webster told me of Kean's surprise; "Why, cocky, you're a Quaker!" When Howe said that none the less he wished to act, Kean thrust his face into the boy's and rasped, "Well, cully, can you starve?" . . . I tell you this story because, as I sat in awed admiration at the feet of Ben Webster, a man with roots deep in the theatre's past, I seemed, through his kindly acceptance of me, to reach back into the past, through Evergreen Howe, to Kean himself. That is tradition, Trueman. I do not pretend that it made me a better actor, but it gave me a sense of the wonder and nearness of the great past which made it impossible for me ever to give the theatre less than my best, whatever that best might be. And that is the thing which our Canadian actors cannot get, although I know how powerfully many of them

desire it. They want the living tradition, and as yet there is no one to give it to them.

*Trueman:* Acting, as a profession, is still in its infancy in Canada. We might hope for the establishment of a native tradition if there were not strong forces working against it. But to earn a sufficient income as an actor in Canada is possible only to a score or so of people. The remainder must work as radio actors in order to live.

*Lovewit:* And in saying that you explain many of their deficiencies. Radio acting makes no demands upon the body; an actor whose body is untrained will never make his mark upon the stage except in a limited range of roles for which he is perfectly suited. He will be lucky if he rises above mediocrity even in those. Acting in the classics, or in a modern play which is not realistic in manner, is impossible for him, for he does not know his business.

*Trueman:* I suspect that you do not consider radio acting as real acting.

*Lovewit:* Radio, unaided by the stage, has not produced a single actor of the first rank. The microphone imposes too many limitations. Emotions must be expressed in such a manner as to agree with the machine, for the machine is the final arbiter. The speech of even the best radio actors is unsuitable for the stage, without radical change. And what passes for sincerity in radio has nothing to do with the larger sincerity which is demanded of an actor who must fill a theatre with sound. Yet this is the work by which most of our actors have to live.

*Trueman:* Do you consider that in general it makes bad actors of them?

*Lovewit:* Not of the wise ones. The encouraging fact is that many of these young men and women take great pains to learn to act well on the stage. They train their bodies and their voices. And when they have the chance they act in a way which gladdens the heart.

*Trueman:* Do you refer to their performances in the summer theatres?

*Lovewit:* Yes, and anywhere that they have a chance to work under conditions which are in any way conducive to real artistic effort. I have seen them in classical plays, in commercial plays and in musical comedies and revues. They are not numerous, but there are enough of them to give us a theatre if they could live by it.

*Trueman:* Ah, but as soon as they had reached a certain level of excellence they would get offers from the States and we would lose them.

- Lovewit:* We would lose a few of them. But there are others—some of them among the best—who would stay here. For patriotism in the arts is no less common than it is in other spheres. If they had a chance at a respectable livelihood and an honourable way of life, they would stay, and they could give us a truly fine theatre.
- Trueman:* While such people exist it cannot be said that we are without the means to create a theatre. But so far we have said nothing of the theatre which exists widely everywhere in Canada, and flourishes triumphantly in some parts of it.
- Lovewit:* Our amateur theatre? Yes; if it flourished on such a scale, proportionately, in the U.S.A., news of the prodigy would have been spread to the uttermost ends of the earth. For where else in the world will you find a national amateur theatre movement comparable with our Dominion Drama Festival?
- Trueman:* It is one of Canada's cultural glories, but Canada characteristically does not know it. The Dominion Government is indifferent to it, and hundreds of thousands of citizens either know nothing of it, or are profoundly misinformed about it. It receives no penny from the public purse. And yet it engages the attention of much of the ablest artistic talent of the country, and it provides, in its final yearly festival, a week of drama which has won the sincere admiration of extremely able professional men of the theatre, who are brought here to judge it. I cannot think of any other country in the world where a comparable effort would be so persistently snubbed by the Government. Even on the lowest level, its publicity value to the country is enormous. The libel that Canada hates the arts is more strongly supported by the resolute official slighting of the Dominion Drama Festival than in any other single matter.
- Lovewit:* Do not grow too heated, my dear fellow. It may be a blessing in disguise. The artist who is slighted by his Government is at least not under his Government's thumb. But more of this later. The curious fact, in my estimation, is that in Canada the amateurs are so much better off than the professionals.
- Trueman:* It is a fact that some of the large amateur societies own fine theatres and have a good deal of money to spend on presenting their public performances. Such a group as the Little Theatre of London, Ontario, which owns a handsome, full-sized theatre, supports a studio for experimental work, gives assistance to promising young people, and employs several persons to attend to its business all the year round, is a bril-



liant exception. The average amateur theatre group works in a hired hall, pays its way from year to year, and in the course of time acquires a wardrobe and some scenery. If, at the end of a season, it has paid its bills and still has enough in hand to finance some of the preparatory work for the season to come it has done well. And in addition to these groups of average success, there are struggling groups which often cannot make ends meet.

*Lovewit:* Lack of merit?

*Trueman:* Very often, but in some cases it is because they present unpopular plays which they think should be seen. In large cities there are also groups of poor people who, as they act for poor audiences, never have quite enough money. But a few of them do work of artistic value, for all that.

*Lovewit:* When you speak of "artistic value" in an amateur performance do you mean the same thing as when you use that phrase of a professional performance?

*Trueman:* Such a phrase cannot have a constant value, like a bar of gold of a fixed weight. But you are right to take me up in that way. When speaking of the amateur theatre one must beware of sophisticating one's standards.

*Lovewit:* You agree with me, then, that the amateur theatre must be judged by the same standards as the professional?

*Trueman:* I agree that the best amateur work must be judged by the same standards as the best professional work, for it has earned that compliment. When judging the work of amateurs who plainly are not the best one must use one's common sense, and some measure of charity. Do not forget, Lovewit, that I am a Canadian playwright, and I have seen my plays acted by professionals, good amateurs and bad amateurs; if I had judged them all by the same standard I should not be here to collaborate with you now upon this memorandum, for I should have slain the bad amateurs and chopped them into messes before the astonished eyes of their friends and relatives. When one has said that they, too, are God's creatures one has said absolutely all that can be said in their defence.

*Lovewit:* You speak as if there were no bad professionals.

*Trueman:* A bad professional will bedaub your play with his own egotistical nonsense, but he will leave something of its original substance. But your bad amateur will ravish it and dance upon its corpse without any comprehension that he is doing it

a disservice. But let us talk no more of bad amateurs. My gorge rises.

*Lovewit:* Speak then of the good amateurs. Do you think that they ever surpass the professionals?

*Trueman:* I will not say that they cannot do so: I say only that I have never personally seen them do so. I have seen here in Canada some fine, sensitive work by amateur actors, but it has always seemed to be lacking in the qualities which fine professional work possesses. The tragic purgation by pity and terror; the comic glory of laughter; these have never been present in their full and unmistakeable power.

*Lovewit:* Are you not a little unreasonable? These amateurs must earn their bread by other work; how can they have the same energy to give to acting that professionals have, who do nothing else?

*Trueman:* You do not deceive me, Lovewit; you are joking. Of course what you say is half the explanation. But the real fact is that the amateurs lack the imaginative power which the professionals bring to their work. I have seen very capable amateurs; they have some technique of body and voice, and they have a certain amount of flair. But they have not the copious imaginative power which in the gifted professional actor illuminates everything he does and, in his great moments, raises acting from a craft to an art.

*Lovewit:* Yet there is truth in what I said. The actor does no work during the day, and why? Is it because he is idle? No: it is because a creative or interpretative artist needs long periods of leisure in which to prepare for the work which he is going to do. Foolish people envy him this leisure. They think how lucky he is to be paid for three hours' work a day. Yet if he is to work at the necessary pitch of intensity during those three hours, he needs the whole day free to prepare for it. It is in this respect that the amateur is at a permanent disadvantage. However seriously he may take his acting, he cannot give all of what is best in him to it. And thus he remains an amateur. Yet for all this it must be said that the best Canadian amateurs are very good indeed.

*Trueman:* So good that if there were a professional theatre here in which an honourable livelihood could be made, many of them would be in it, and might achieve heights of which they have not dreamed.

*Lovewit:* Do you think so? I too have seen a good deal of amateur

work here, and the point which has depressed me about it is its old-fashioned quality.

*Trueman:* You mean that it lingers still in the realistic, understated mode which was popular in the 1920's? That is true.

*Lovewit:* The best actors of today have adopted a more robust style, and have left understatement to the movies, the radio and the amateurs. How thrilling the robust style can be, even in a movie, has been amply illustrated by Sir Lawrence Olivier in *Henry V* and *Hamlet*. But amateurs are desperately afraid of what they call "ham". Now if they only knew it, "ham" is one thing they can never be, for "ham" is robust acting from which intelligence has been removed. If they are never robust, how can they be hams, stifle their intelligence as they may?

*Trueman:* Very often our amateurs remind me of Roy Campbell's comment on some South African novelists:

You praise the firm restraint with which  
they write—

I'm with you there, of course:

They use the snaffle and the curb all right,

But where's the bloody horse?

They make a fetish of restraint when what they need is to cut loose.

*Lovewit:* Aha, but there you touch on what I believe to be a vital point. One can only cut loose in an act of artistic creation if one is in it up to the neck. The amateur theatre, at its best, still continues to have strong social implications. Qualities which have little to do with good acting—fairness to others, team-play, and the like—are given an exaggerated value there. For social reasons the good actor must not soar too far beyond the level of the mediocre actor. And although we must respect the ideas which lie behind such behaviour, they have nothing to do with great art.

*Trueman:* Precisely so, for art is undemocratic and unsocial in much of its working. Nothing so cruelly and irrevocably separates man from man as the existence of unmistakable artistic talent in one and the lack of it in another. And no one is more ruthless in his subjection of others to his needs than the great artist who is engaged in an act of creation. In the amateur theatre these facts must be kept in restraint as much as possible or the amateur theatre would cease to exist. But in the professional theatre they are the ordinary facts of existence; every pro-



fessional accepts them, and they do not, in themselves, cause any friction. Though actors are, in the main, unusually genial and charitable toward one another in their private relationships, they recognize when they are at work that the superior and the inferior artist do not stand upon an equal footing. The amateur theatre is too close to private life for that.

*Lovewit:* It is really very simple. It is the economic factor which puts everything in perspective. The professional has his value and all his colleagues know it. The amateur has no unmistakeable means of determining his artistic worth.

*Trueman:* Yet if we say these things in our memorandum will not the Commissioners think that actors are mercenary dogs who judge a man only by the fee he commands?

*Lovewit:* We may trust them to understand the matter in the way we mean it. After all, it is true in every kind of professional work that the big rewards—be they money, or honour, or public acclaim—go usually to the man whose talents give him the best claim to them.

*Trueman:* There is always one way in which the first-rate amateur can rid himself of his disabilities.

*Lovewit:* You mean that he can become a professional?

*Trueman:* Yes, and it may be said that the amateur who does so is in little danger of falling prey to that cynicism about his work which wrecks the careers of many professionals who have gone on the stage at the earliest opportunity. Two theatres which have exercised an incalculable influence on modern drama began as amateur theatres: I mean the Moscow Art Theatre, and the Abbey Theatre of Dublin. They were born of a great love of the theatre; when the time came to break with the disadvantages of amateurism they faced that risk bravely. But during their years of professional greatness they never lost the fresh approach and the devotion of the good amateur. And it may be said that the Theatre Guild of New York had its beginning in the amateur Provincetown Players. Our Dominion Drama Festival proves to us every year that there is the raw material of a professional theatre in Canada which might rise to very great heights.

*Lovewit:* Well, let us suppose that such a devoted group of amateurs as began the Moscow Art Theatre were to try its luck in Canada; could it exist in one of our big cities?

*Trueman:* It might, if it had adequate financial backing. Don't forget that Constantin Stanislavsky was a man of wealth. In my

opinion, it would take three years for such a group to reach a point where it could pay its own way. Most of the theatrical ventures which I have had a chance to watch in Canada have died from a combination of two diseases: they were not good enough, and they were not wisely financed. The two diseases are interlocking, for lack of money leads to bad work, and bad work keeps money out of the theatre.

*Lovewit:* Just a moment; I am an Old Vic man, as you know. Lilian Baylis was never discouraged by lack of money.

*Trueman:* Lilian Baylis was a financial genius; she also owned a theatre and thus had one large tangible asset; and she worked in a country and a city where the theatre counts its lovers in millions. The Canadian companies of which I speak are in a different position. If we were forming a Canadian theatre company the second man I would engage would be the best business manager I could find. And I would not seek to establish a company in one place; I would travel.

*Lovewit:* But have you not heard the moans of those who have travelled already? Where is there for them to play? In school auditoriums, which have no space for scenery, no adequate lighting, and stages which might better be described as niches in the wall. There are also town halls, skating rinks and armouries. Theatres are few, and many of them are barn-like edifices, impossible to fill and as uncomfortable, in their way, as the school auditoriums.

*Trueman:* But if the theatre in Canada is to wait upon the establishment of well-found playhouses in every small city and large town it will wait until the crack of Doom. For—get this through your head, Master Lovewit—the theatre is not first a thing of bricks and mortar, but of players and playwrights, and if first things are to come first the inconveniences of the existing halls must be met and overcome.

*Lovewit:* Pray do not hector me, my dear friend, for I present difficulties only to draw you out.

*Trueman:* Your pardon, honest Lovewit. But when I hear it suggested that a play cannot be done well without a perfect theatre—meaning some version of the peep-show theatre of the past two hundred years—I cannot contain my choler.

*Lovewit:* Arena staging might be tried. Fine things have been done in that manner.

*Trueman:* Yes, and there is our old friend the fit-up—the portable stage equipment. And the depressingly educational appearance of

school auditoriums could be relieved by an imaginative portable false proscenium. For a great step is taken toward stage illusion by any means which conceals from the audience that it is in the assembly hall of the Podunk Collegiate and Vocational School, where it has succumbed to boredom so often in the past.

*Lovewit:* I really do not see why a well-equipped and artistically respectable company should not travel in a circuit, as the players did in eighteenth century England. Indeed, when one considers the success of Community Concerts in Canada, one wonders if circuits might not be financed on a similar subscription plan. They would have to take in many small places, to cut the cost of travel but that would be desirable.

*Trueman:* An advantage of such a plan would be that, as with Community Concerts, the audience and the money would be assured, and the company would be able to judge its expenses with its eye trained upon its income. So long as it kept the confidence of its audience, it would have little to fear.

*Lovewit:* And it would keep the confidence of its audience so long as it could provide first-rate theatrical entertainment.

*Trueman:* That is the nub of the whole matter, for as we cannot repeat too often, more theatrical ventures are killed by their own lack of merit in a year than are killed by the neglect or malignity of the public in ten. I said that the second man I would hire, if I were charged with the task of establishing such a venture, would be a first-rate business man. The first man, and the keystone of my arch, would be a first-rate artistic director.

*Lovewit:* You would be hard set to find him.

*Trueman:* Men of capacity are hard to find in all walks of life. He would have to be a man of fine taste, yet with a keen sense of what his audiences could be persuaded to like. He would have to keep not only his actors, but his directors, designers and technical people up to the mark. He would have to listen at all times to his business manager, and he would have to possess a good knowledge of business himself. He would have to provide, like Stanislavsky or Lilian Baylis, inspiration, instruction, succour, rebuke and a focus of faith for all who worked with him, and he would have to provide the public with a figure-head whom they could trust and admire.

*Lovewit:* You ask for a paragon.



- Trueman:* No; merely for a man big enough for a big job. Such people are not common, nor are they cast in one mould. Can you think of three people more apparently different than Stanislavsky, W. B. Yeats and Lilian Baylis? And our leader here, whoever he may be, will be like all of them, and yet not like any of them.
- Lovewit:* Come, Trueman, we agreed to stick to common sense. You are talking as though our Canadian theatre would be the work of some single remarkable figure.
- Trueman:* Perhaps I am wrong, but I do not think so. Such a leader would collect about him the admirable single talents which exist in our country now, but which have no focus. If I write a play, to whom can I turn for an opinion which will content me? And you, Lovewit, who direct and act with a certain taste and discretion—is there anyone for whom you are ready to give your utmost, and whose banner you would follow through good times and bad? Canada has plenty of theatrical talent which is very nearly first-rate, and which would be so if it could find a catalyst—a messiah—call him what you will.
- Lovewit:* If we send a memorandum to the Commissioners saying that we want a messiah they may take us for madmen—
- Trueman:* I doubt that. The Chairman of the Commission is a notable patron of the drama, and the other Commissioners, being persons of cultivation and noble spirit, must love it too. Let us say that we need a messiah by all means, and I am sure that they would unite in the Song of Simeon if he were to appear.
- Lovewit:* Trueman, restrain your Celtic emotion! Any suggestion that the Commissioners are ready to sing a *Nunc Dimittis* will undo us utterly! To imply that a Commission is ready to depart, even in peace, is inexcusable impertinence! What they want from us, I venture to say, is concrete suggestion. What, in short, can the Government of Canada do about the theatre in Canada?
- Trueman:* It could do several things. It could give reputable travelling companies, composed of Canadians, a special favourable rate on the Canadian National Railways, by making some suitable arrangement with the railway authorities. The haulage of a company and a quantity of scenery is a formidable consideration for any theatrical venture.
- Lovewit:* That would be a practical benefit certainly.
- Trueman:* And it might induce provincial governments, at a dominion-provincial conference, to relieve reputable Canadian companies

of the burdensome amusements tax which the provinces now levy.

*Lovewit:* True, for it seems unjust that the native theatre should be expected to tack onto every ticket of admission an extra charge which is not used for the furtherance of the theatre or any of the arts. If there is a case for such an impost upon any form of entertainment—which I am disposed to doubt, for it is discriminatory, and I shrewdly suspect that it has its root in a puritanical dislike of merrymaking in general—there is surely none upon the Canadian theatre, which deserves well of its country and its country's governors.

*Trueman:* Well, there we have two benefits which might be conferred.

*Lovewit:* Both, it may be said, are negative: they let the theatre companies off certain expenses. They do not plainly give them anything.

*Trueman:* And that, in my opinion, is as it should be. For you may as well know, Lovewit, that I oppose giving artists money from the public purse except under the most unusual circumstances: lessen their burdens, but give them no cash.

*Lovewit:* For the reason, I suppose, that I spoke of earlier: the artist who gets nothing from his Government is not under his Government's thumb.

*Trueman:* Precisely. If the theatre is to have a patron today it must be the Government, for the Government now takes the means of patronage from private persons. But Government patronage, unless it is of the negative, unobtrusive sort which I have mentioned, or unless it operates under special safeguards, can become severely repressive in its influence. Let us suppose that some governmental scheme for a National Theatre were set at work in this country within the next five years: at every election economies are promised and the National Theatre would come under fire. That would beget a spirit of nervous tension and servility among the artists and administrators of the National Theatre which would make first-rate work impossible.

*Lovewit:* Alas, yes! And can you not imagine some Member of Parliament complaining bitterly in the Commons every time the National Theatre performed a play about people whose morals were not identical with those of his constituents? Or if he saw an actor from the National Theatre whose dress displeased him, or who wore his hair at a length deemed unbecoming in a servant of the state?

*Trueman:* Our elected representatives are already heavily burdened with public business: let us not lay upon them the responsibility of overseeing a theatre, as well.

*Lovewit:* There may come a day when a Canadian theatrical company has unmistakably earned the right to be called a National Theatre. By that time it will have its traditions, its method of work, its individual style, and its faithful and appreciative public. If the nation chooses to offer support to it, it can accept upon honourable terms, and insist that it be allowed to know its own business better than the noble tribunes of the people. For although I am a democrat, Trueman, I do not believe that people who know nothing about the arts should be allowed to make life miserable for those who do.

*Trueman:* Because I am a democrat, I thoroughly agree with you. And I agree, too, that a National Theatre cannot be brought into being simply by the expenditure of public money. It must grow. Set up a National Theatre, and remove it from money anxieties by a state grant, and in ten years it will have become a pension scheme for the artistically worn out, the incompetent, and the faddists.

*Lovewit:* Either that, or a new playground for the professional do-gooders. Never forget those well-meaning enemies of art. They are the people who will not allow the theatre to be its own justification. The theatre is educational and recreative. But it is not so primarily. It is first of all an art, and it is as a form of art that it stands or falls. Let people get their hands on it who regard it as means of spreading some sort of education dear to themselves, or who think that it is a social medicine, and you will kill it as dead as a doornail. But let the theatre develop freely and gloriously as an art, let it present classics and good modern plays, let it ravish the souls of its audiences with tragedy and comedy and melodrama, and it will educate and recreate them more truly and lastingly than the zealots think possible. The car of Thespis must not be turned into a travelling canteen, dispensing thin gruel to the intellectually under-privileged.

*Trueman:* Yes, if the theatre in Canada is to develop into anything of worth it cannot afford short-cuts. It must take the long way, in order that it may have time to learn not only its own business, but the special tastes and needs of our people. It is superficially attractive to think of a National Theatre created by Government fiat, but I fear the consequences. In our country



officialism is splendidly developed; the art of the theatre, though promising, is no match for it. Officialism and public interference might well prove too overpowering, and the result would be a National Theatre continually engaged in a losing fight with essentially inartistic influences.

*Lovewit:* By the bye, my dear friend, we must be careful of our use of that work "artistic" in our memorandum. Through no fault of its own it has acquired overtones of preciousness.

*Trueman:* Yes, we must make it clear that we employ the word "artist" in its true sense of "maker". The artist is he who creates. And he must be as little as possible hampered by people whose work is not to create but to complicate, obfuscate, worry and destroy.

*Lovewit:* We are agreed then, that the Canadian theatre should thoroughly learn its job before there is any talk of a National Theatre? Even though its way may be hard?

*Trueman:* Most certainly. Nor must we forget that to many people the words National Theatre mean a building, probably in Ottawa. Now unless such a building is a centre from which travelling companies go on tours through the length and breadth of Canada, it is a foolish extravagance. A theatre is not a thing of bricks and mortar. If a djinn from the Arabian Nights were to whisk the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre from Straford and set it down in Ottawa, with all its equipment, we would still be without a National Theatre. But if we can develop even one company, acting in a tent or in school halls, which can move Canadians to tears and laughter with the great plays of the past, and with great plays of the present (including perhaps a few of their own), we have the heart of a National Theatre.

*Lovewit:* The emergence of such a company would be an interesting phenomenon; I have sometimes wondered if criticism would have any considerable part in shaping and polishing it.

*Trueman:* Informed criticism could do much, but informed criticism is an uncommon thing in the periodicals of our country. If a critic is to be of any use to an artist, he must understand and love the art he criticises, and he must be deeply versed in its literature and its tradition, as well. He must know at least as much about the art as one of its practitioners. The hack critic, the mere reviewer, the reporter given leave to editorialize, is of no positive value and can be a real danger if he is himself a malignant or frustrated man.

*Lovewit:* Our attitude toward criticism is too deeply affected, I fear, by that of the U.S.A. There a critic is too often employed merely to give his opinion on a matter which he has not studied deeply, because he is a wit or can pass for a wit. This style of criticism is dangerous at its best, and when imitated by men of meagre gifts it is execrable.

*Trueman:* A fine critic is himself something of an artist, and he may, in some cases, encourage an art or even bring forth new developments in it. One of the principal tasks of every good critic of the theatre is to memorialize great performances and events in its history; part of his genius is to know when these events occur, for they are not always obvious. But it is to be feared that most critics serve the theatre as a flea serves a dog—as an irritating parasite which may at times bring the dog into derision.

*Lovewit:* Do you speak as a playwright whose work has, at times, been scorned?

*Trueman:* It may be that I do, but that does little to lessen the truth of of what I have said. To have one's work condemned is unpleasant but not insupportable; to have one's work condemned irresponsibly is gall and wormwood. I think that the newspapers and periodicals have a duty in this matter which many of them neglect. But a growing theatre will make them repair their neglect.

*Lovewit:* I suppose the case of the Canadian playwright must be considered in any complete view of the Canadian theatre. I am told that a great many people in Canada write plays, and yet comparatively few Canadian plays are shown upon the stage. Are the majority so bad?

*Trueman:* Because I am a Canadian playwright myself I must be careful how I answer you. Only a few of these manuscripts have come my way, and the thing which astonished me about them was not that many were bad, but that several were near to being very good. People whose judgement I trust, who have acted as judges in playwriting competitions, have said the same thing to me often, and they have better cause to know the facts than I. But in order to write a play one must be not only a person with some degree of literary skill, but a theatre craftsman as well. One must know not only how people talk, but how to make them talk in such a way as to complete a piece of action in two and a half hours without too much padding, or too much jumping about in the plot. One must consider the actors, and give them opportunities to show their own special

skill as distinguished from your own. One must know how to build up a speech to a climax, and then how to get down from the climax without tumbling. One must not introduce characters who do not help to carry forward the story, for actors cost money and must not be wasted. And above all, one must beware of the wrong kind of subtlety, for the delicate shades which give distinction to a novel have no place in a play: the subtlety of the playwright lies in quite another direction—not less than the novelist's, but different.

*Lovewit:* Aha, you touch upon something which I have often thought, and you must forgive me if I interrupt. It has occurred to me many times that the radio has a weakening effect upon many admirable Canadian writers who occasionally write plays. Radio drama being—let us not mince words—an enfeebled echo of the real thing, encourages the sort of subtlety of which you speak. When a speech can be whispered into a microphone with such immediacy of effect that the listener may almost fancy himself sitting in the larynx, if not in the heart, of the speaker, the writer is tempted to try effects which are quite lost when transferred to the stage. But because unthinking people admire what they regard as subtlety, and condemn breadth of effect, these ineffective devices are attempted again and again.

*Trueman:* It is this very thing which makes it so hard to put a good stage piece on the radio. A broad effect in radio is merely confusing. Alas for those who beat the drum on behalf of radio drama, the mind's eye is imperfectly hitched to the mind's ear. Hence the Procrustean "adaptation" which is necessary to crush a play into an hour's length, and make it endurable to to one sense alone.

*Lovewit:* Not all Canadian playwrights, of course, suffer from the baneful influence of radio writing, but some of the most potentially brilliant of them do so.

*Trueman:* You interrupted me in my discourse upon the things which a playwright must know. He must be able to tell a story, with a certain richness of embellishment which it is the fashion of the day to mistake for thought, entirely in dialogue and action, usually without shifting his scene from a single place. He must—

*Lovewit:* My dear fellow, please do not tell me any more of the things that he must be able to do. We do not propose, after all, to write a treatise on the playwright's craft.



*Trueman:* Very well, let us say merely that it *is* a craft and that it must be learned. The best way to learn it is to write a play and see it through rehearsals and in performance. But as it costs quite a lot of money to give a play a production even in the amateur theatre, this cannot happen very often. The next best way is to see a lot of plays, and to learn from them. That can only be done where a theatre exists. I am quite sure that a robust Canadian theatre would bring forth a large body of Canadian plays, some of them good enough for export.

*Lovewit:* Hm. Do you think that people abroad would be interested in Canadian plays?

*Trueman:* Lovewit, you disgust me! Is not the theatre of the civilized world interested in plays by and about Russians, Norwegians, Frenchmen, Swedes, Hungarians, Italians, Belgians and even—God bless us!—Irishmen and Scotchmen? Are Canadians so cut off from the charity of God and the indulgence of mankind that they alone are of no interest to their fellow-beings? Take my word for it, if the plays are good enough, the world will like them.

*Lovewit:* Hm. I am reminded of the story of a gifted young woman who asked a celebrated orchestral conductor if her sex would prevent her from getting a place in a first-rate orchestra. No, said he; you will manage it if you are able to play twice as well as any of the men. Canadian plays will have to be very good indeed to break through the prejudice which exists against them, on the ground of their origin.

*Trueman:* I will confess to you that the agent who hawks my plays in England keeps mum about the fact that I am a Canadian. He says that it would work against him. Nobody thinks that there is anything odd about an Englishman or an American writing a play, but apparently it is still considered unpropitious for a play to come from Canada. Still, I think that the prejudice will be overcome and that we shall see Canadian plays performed abroad—when we have the playwrights capable of bringing that about.

*Lovewit:* It seems to me unlikely that we shall have plays which will command the attention of the outside world until we have a national drama which has roused and stirred us on our own soil.

*Trueman:* Agreed. Nevertheless, I like to look forward to that day, whenever it may be. For I like to think that Canada will have a proud place among the nations, and I fear that her integrity,

her good sense, her honest dealing and her indisputable political genius will not suffice to gain it for her. Think: do you know of any nation that the world has considered truly great which has not had one or many manifestations of great art? Canada will not become great by a continued display of her virtues for virtues are—let us face it—dull. It must have art if it is to be great, and it has more real vitality, in my opinion, in the art of the theatre than in any other save music. And I think its theatre is potentially just as good as its music and perhaps better.

*Lovewit:* I agree, but art cannot be compelled. It will not flourish here simply because we wish it.

*Trueman:* But we can remove some of the hindrances which lie in the way. I agree with you that the offer of prizes for plays, and establishment of scholarships for talented writers and actors is not the Government's responsibility, but the Government might change its ideas about taxation as it affects writers; if royalties were treated as capital gains, which they are, rather than as profits, which they are not, it would help the writer to improve his position when he has a stroke of good fortune. A writer, surely, deserves well of the state? He exploits nothing but his own talent; he does not impoverish the land; whatever he creates he creates out of nothing which anybody else wants. And yet his creations give pleasure, and in special cases they may reflect honour upon his native land. I do not suppose that the Ministers of Finance and National Revenue are conscious of the existence of authors in any real sense. Yet to the author who, after years of work, a stroke of good fortune brings a considerable sum of money, it sometimes appears that these gentlemen are simply waiting to swoop upon him and despoil him. Canadian authors who are worth their salt do not want subsidies and handouts, but they would like a chance to build up a sufficient estate to permit them to live by writing alone, and to take the time necessary to do their best work.

*Lovewit:* Very well; let us turn from the authors to the actors. Should promising artists of the theatre be given state scholarships in order to study abroad?

*Trueman:* I would rather make it possible for them to study at home. The establishment, now, of a National Theatre would be a great mistake; we do not know enough to ensure the success of such an undertaking. But the time is ripe for the establishment

of a Theatre Centre, where all the arts of the theatre could be studied and practised under expert supervision, and where our excellent amateurs could find the polishing they need to make them good professionals, as well as the inspiration to carry them beyond their present limited artistic vision. Government assistance in establishing such a centre would be public money well spent.

*Lovewit:* A centre? A school, you mean?

*Trueman:* No, a practical theatre studio, not a drama school. I would strongly recommend a centre based upon the Old Vic Theatre Centre in London; Sweden has copied it, and we could find no better model. Furthermore, I have the assurance of its director, Monsieur Michel Saint-Denis, that he willing and indeed eager to help in the establishment of such a centre here. What better model than the Old Vic centre? What better advisor than the director of that centre and one of the ablest men of the theatre in the world today? If anything is to be done, Saint-Denis is your man; and it isn't every day that people of his quality offer to help a struggling art in a new country.

*Lovewit:* How is such a theatre centre financed?

*Trueman:* By fees from each student, and by a government grant which, in the case of the Old Vic Centre, is £5,000 a year. Call it \$25,000 a year for Canada, and a trifle for what it would do.

*Lovewit:* And who would head such a centre?

*Trueman:* It would have to be a man with some experience of such a place, and I am sure that Monsieur Saint-Denis would help us to find him.

*Lovewit:* And he would be our messiah?

*Trueman:* Perhaps: or our John the Baptist. Or even a thoroughly competent minor prophet would be a blessing. And when such a centre, and its students, were sufficiently strong we might think about a National Theatre. If the Government wants to help us, let them help us in this way: let them make it possible for us to *learn*. But as you see I am mistrustful of any sort of direct state patronage of the arts when the artists are not in a strong enough position to make conditions.

*Lovewit:* France, to name only one country, has had national patronage of the theatre for nearly three centuries.

*Trueman:* Which means that such patronage began in an age when it was in effect personal patronage by persons deeply concerned about the theatre. Our modern bureaucracies are not rich



in such enlightened patrons, and our succeeding ministries are almost antiseptically free from them. The *Comédie-Française* was a product of the spirit of its time, and it had its roots in a strong popular theatre. When we have a strong popular theatre here, it will be time for us to think about a national theatre. We live in an age of ever-increasing socialism, as you know, and it is good socialist practice to take over a going concern.

*Lovewit:* You are not to be shaken, then, in your belief that Canada does not need a National Theatre?

*Trueman:* Have I been talking all this while in vain? Of course I believe that Canada needs a National Theatre! But I want Canada to have a strong National Theatre, directed by competent artists of the theatre, and so highly esteemed by our country and by the civilized world that it can, literally, run its own show and be under no obligation to cringe whenever a contumelious parliamentarian knits his brows! I want Canada to have a National Theatre which will be in competition with other Canadian theatres of the first rank. I want Canada to have a National Theatre which is one of the proudest possessions of the state, and not a drag upon the public purse! For the theatre is one of the arts which can maintain high standards and still pay its way; it is a truly popular art, and the people will support it when it is unmistakeably of the first quality. I want a National Theatre in Canada as soon as we have developed a fine native theatre which has learned to support itself by its own efforts, asking from the Government a very little money and a few favours as assurances of goodwill. I want, in short, a National Theatre with its roots in the country, nourished by experience, craftsmanship, and a noble ideal of what a theatre should be!

*Lovewit:* Honest Trueman! Give me thy hand! I have but dissembled my agreement in order to provoke this splendid rage in thee! Pardon this tear! 'Tis but an ebullition of joy!

*Trueman:* Enough for one morning. Come, let us to the cocktail lounge where we may drain a bumper to the future!

*Exeunt arm in arm.*

(Robertson Davies is editor of the Peterborough Examiner and an author and playwright.)

## LES ARTS DANS LA PROVINCE DE QUÉBEC

GÉRARD MORISSET

**D**EPUIS un quart de siècle, un mouvement irrésistible emporte à vive allure le monde de nos artistes et de nos artisans vers un destin imprévisible, absolument impensable à la génération précédente. C'est un fait. Il ne peut raisonnablement être question de le rejeter.

Si l'on veut comprendre quelque chose à ce mouvement, il importe de réfléchir, non sur ses causes lointaines puisqu'elles ont été dévoilées, mais sur ses causes immédiates, sur ses mobiles, et aussi sur des faits apparemment secondaires qui en ont plus ou moins déterminé la direction et le rythme. Reportons-nous donc à l'année 1925. Dans la vue des choses que je voudrais esquisser à grands traits, cette année-là constitue un point de repère important.

### UNE VUE DES CHOSES

1925. C'est l'année de l'exposition des Arts décoratifs de Paris. Exposition pourvoyeuse d'inspiration et d'idées; encore mieux de formes et de modes, de dessins décoratifs inédits, dont on épuise vite l'esprit et la fécondité. C'est l'époque de l'exposition, à Québec, des artistes français dits du *Groupe de l'Erable*, groupe qui, sauf Georges Desvalières, n'a de vraiment français que la tradition la plus fatiguée, et de l'érable que le symbole aguichant et stérile; et longtemps cette manifestation picturale pèsera sur le goût fragile d'une certaine classe d'amateurs. C'est l'époque de l'étude et de l'élaboration des plans de l'Université de Montréal, vaste et courageux essai de modernisation de notre architecture, ferment actif qui n'agit pourtant sur la sensibilité de nos artistes que le jour où la pure vision de l'architecte se traduit dans la masse de brique dorée qui se profile au flanc de la Montagne. C'est encore l'époque où nos écoles des Beaux-Arts fondées en 1922, décernent leurs premiers diplômes—Alfred Pelland, Henri Tremblay et Omer Parent appartiennent à la première promotion; où les premiers boursiers de l'Etat, tel Marcel Parizeau, arrivent à Paris pour un séjour prolongé et s'informent intelligemment de toute nouveauté esthétique; où un certain nombre de rapins, attirés par le prestige de l'art français, s'inscrivent à des institu-

tions officielles ou se contentent de besogner ferme dans l'atmosphère exaltante de Montparnasse. C'est l'époque où la commission des Monuments historiques, fondée en 1922, publie ses premiers rapports illustrés et se préoccupe de la conservation de nos monuments; où de jeunes critiques d'occasion, relevant la critique essoufflée du *Nigog*, entreprennent la lutte contre l'architecture archéologique, la construction mensongère et les démolitions inutiles. Enfin, c'est l'époque où une équipe de chercheurs spécialisés, tels Traquair, Vaillancourt et Barbeau, s'attache à étudier et à faire connaître notre art national, et publie, en moins de quinze ans, quinze fois plus d'études d'histoire artistique que n'en avaient connu les cent dernières années.

Dans ce mouvement, deux tendances contradictoires s'affirment dès le début. D'une part, c'est la tradition immédiatement, raisonnable et sentimentale à la fois, qui s'appuie sur une base quasi inébranlable: le goût apparemment immuable de la bourgeoisie, la représentation d'une certaine réalité de tout repos, une conception de la beauté qui relève exclusivement de l'observation statique et passive du monde extérieur. D'autre part, c'est la réaction normale de l'imagination et de la volonté contre la pente molle de l'imitation, contre la tradition épuisée, contre ce que j'appellerais le conformisme des amateurs. Est-il besoin de dire que cette dernière tendance s'exerce d'abord timidement, dans un milieu fermé de tout jeunes artistes.

Cependant, à mesure que les années s'écoulent, l'équilibre tend à se faire entre les tendances que je viens de signaler. De plus en plus, l'imagination semble avoir la part belle; la connaissance livresque cesse peu à peu d'être un but à atteindre. J'imagine que la création de deux grandes écoles—l'Ecole du Meuble et l'Ecole des Arts graphiques, à Montréal—n'est pas étrangère à la part grandissante que prend l'imagination dans les arts appliqués; non plus d'ailleurs que cette lassitude, parfois agressive, des *connoisseurs* devant des monceaux d'oeuvres d'art qui, à force de représenter les mêmes objets et les mêmes anecdotes, en arrivent à ne plus avoir de signification ou à ne posséder qu'une seule qualité, cette signification parfois si lourde à porter.

Continuons notre examen chronologique. Bien d'autres faits, de source et de portée toutes différentes, concourent à la libération des arts et des artistes. Tout d'abord, l'exposition universelle de Paris en 1937, plus sérieuse et plus bienfaisante que celle de 1925, magnifiquement vulgarisée par la photographie; l'exposition de New-York en 1939, événement plus proche de nous, donc plus accessible à nos artistes, plus décisif dans leurs recherches de formes et de style; l'industrialisation méthodique qui, par la construction de nombreuses usines modernes et d'habitations en série, a contribué à faire disparaître de notre architecture les styles défunts. Ensuite, les concours artistiques—peinture,



sculpture et arts décoratifs—qui, institués par le gouvernement en juin 1944, ont créé une vive émulation chez nos artistes, et ont permis au public de se rendre compte de l'évolution de nos arts plastiques et de faire ample connaissance avec un art sagement moderne. Enfin, il faut noter l'action individuelle de certains artistes—Marcel Parizeau, Alfred Pellan, Fernand Léger, pour n'en nommer que trois. Leur personnalité a pesé si fortement sur le goût public et sur les jeunes artistes, qu'elle a canalisé dans une seule direction des tendances jusque-là hésitantes ou indéterminées ou qu'elle a donné un sens nettement défini à des recherches plastiques qui menaçaient de tourner court.

Cette vivification de nos arts ne s'est pas faite aisément. Elle est l'oeuvre d'un groupe d'hommes de tempérament, de culture et de goût fort différents; elle est le résultat d'une somme considérable de talent et de préjugés; et elle a créé de toutes pièces, ces dernières années, une querelle des Anciens et des Modernes qui a été extrêmement violente et qui semble maintenant apaisée. Querelle féconde en ostracisme et en injustice, oui; mais querelle qui, à mon sens, accuse la bonne santé des arts québécois, le libre jeu des idées et des préférences entre artistes, critiques et amateurs, le désir profond de singularité de tout un groupe de rapins pleins de talent et de hardiesse—désir parfaitement légitime, qu'il est difficile de leur reprocher puisqu'il est le principe même de l'évolution normale des arts.

#### L'ARCHITECTURE

Dans la province de Québec, l'architecture franchement moderne apparaît d'abord dans des édifices utilitaires. C'est donc une architecture d'ingénieur, c'est-à-dire de spécialiste du fer, du béton et des problèmes de statique graphique et de résistance des matériaux.

Que ces ouvrages d'art possèdent une logique et une beauté qui leur sont propres, personne ne songe à le nier; et les élévateurs à grain de Québec et le pont Jacques-Cartier à Montréal sont plus agréables à regarder et satisfont davantage l'esprit que certains monuments de style pur — que ce soit le roman de Cluny ou le gothique d'Amiens. Mais que ces ouvrages d'art s'imposent par des qualités spécifiquement esthétiques, notamment par la justesse et l'attrait de leurs proportions, c'est une proposition qui paraît indéfendable: la légitimité des formes n'est pas nécessairement une affaire de perfection formelle. En réalité, si notre architecture industrielle a apporté des solutions inédites et intéressantes dans le domaine de la technique et des formes, elle n'a exercé qu'une influence superficielle sur nos architectes. Non point seulement parce que sa valeur esthétique manque d'évidence; mais encore parce que, aux yeux des praticiens, les formes nouvelles d'un barrage, d'un élévateur à grain et

d'une usine appartiennent à un genre de construction qui n'est pas tout à fait de l'architecture. La corporation des ingénieurs n'a rien à voir avec l'association des architectes. Et rien n'incommodé davantage un architecte qu'un ingénieur qui se pique d'architecture, surtout de style architectural; et réciproquement, rien n'est plus agaçant pour un ingénieur que de s'entendre dire que le monde des formes ne le concerne point. Et c'est bien ce qu'il y a de tragique dans notre architecture moderne: solidement assise sur les mathématiques et sur les sciences physiques, elle est pourtant le fait d'un groupe d'hommes qui ne cultivent habituellement ni les unes ni les autres.

Une autre cause, vieille de plus d'un siècle, retarde l'épanouissement de notre architecture moderne. C'est l'inconcevable tyrannie des styles du passé. En 1925, l'architecture archéologique s'impose encore à notre élite avec le prestige d'un dogme. Bien plus, elle apparaît comme la seule légitime à certains esprits distingués. Sans doute l'enseignement traditionnel et les conclusions hâtives d'historiens médiocres y sont-ils pour quelque chose; de même que cette funeste indolence d'esprit qui consiste à classer, en des cases arbitrairement cloisonnées, les familles de formes reconnues les meilleures et toujours exploitables. Qu'il me suffise d'indiquer quelques exemples de cet état d'esprit.

Vers 1924, notre architecture religieuse attire l'attention par trois vastes chantiers: la basilique de Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, Notre-Dame de Québec et l'Oratoire Saint-Joseph, à Montréal. Des trois chantiers, un seul comporte la reconstruction d'un édifice sur ses anciens murs: la cathédrale de Québec. Sur les deux autres, on travaille dans du neuf. Eh bien! Dans l'aspect de ces trois édifices, l'archéologie joue un rôle prépondérant; et c'est elle qui fait, de ces trois grandes basiliques, des monuments démodés avant même d'être achevés. Cette regrettable attitude de l'esprit en face des formes périmées mais encore exploitables nous a valu un assez grand nombre d'édifices civils et religieux qui possèdent assurément des qualités d'exécution, mais qui sont tout à fait dépourvus de véritable intérêt architectural. Dans leur exécution, ces édifices sont le plus souvent illogiques; car ce sont uniquement des formes qu'imitent les bâtisseurs; et les imitations se font presque toujours avec des matériaux de revêtement, comme le plâtre, le bois, la tôle, le stuc. En sorte que notre architecture archéologique, déjà viciée dans son principe, ne possède même pas le mérite d'une exécution honnête.

Ce n'est donc pas sur l'architecture archéologique qu'il convient d'insister. C'est sur l'autre, celle qui, secouant les défroques de jadis, s'édifie dans l'esprit même de la science architecturale et des matériaux modernes, et essaie d'inventer le vêtement honnête qui la pare avec élégance et originalité.

Cette architecture a pris naissance à la fin de l'autre guerre. Elle est

une sorte de compromis entre l'architecture française et l'architecture de nos voisins du sud. On le constate dans la plupart des monuments autres que les églises et les habitations. En général, cette architecture ne dépare point nos villes et nos villages; elle ne possède pas de qualités éminentes; mais elle n'est point entachée de défauts graves. Elle est simple et franche. Elle dit clairement et sa structure et sa destination. Un édifice monumental, point de repère considérable et dans le temps et dans l'espace, symbolise à merveille les qualités et les déficiences de cette architecture insuffisamment mûrie, c'est l'Université de Montréal. Les morceaux de bravoure des pavillons intermédiaires rachètent une certaine monotonie des vides; l'ensemble reste agréable par la clarté de son ordonnance et par sa distinction. L'un des monuments les plus récents de ce style est l'hôtel Laurentien, à Montréal; la monotonie des vides y est rompue, un peu au détriment de la distinction, par des éléments verticaux dont le métal trop brillant agace quelque peu le regard — au reste, l'effet de ce métal sera très différent lorsque le temps aura fait son oeuvre de patine; mais la masse de l'édifice s'affirme par son galbe bien étudié et par la parfaite cohésion de ses éléments.

L'esprit de ce style contemporain, je le retrouve dans l'architecture domestique de ce qu'il faut bien appeler, faute d'un autre terme, la bourgeoisie riche. Sur les versants du Mont-Royal, à Outremont et à Westmount, à Québec et à Sillery, ailleurs également, se sont élevées depuis vingt ans des maisons d'exécution soignée, dont le style et l'aspect ne doivent rien au passé, et dont les qualités de proportions et de dissymétrie sont fort plaisantes. L'une des mieux étudiées est la maison Laroque, à Outremont, elle est l'œuvre de feu Marcel Parizeau. L'une des plus originales est la maison Bourdon, à Sillery. La plus classique dans sa modernité est une maison de pierre, avenue Latour, à Québec. J'en pourrais citer d'autres à Ville Mont-Royal, à Sillery, à Champlain et ailleurs; mais il faut savoir les découvrir, car elles sont souvent noyées dans des masses de constructions qui ne possèdent point leurs qualités architecturales.

Je viens de parler de masses de constructions récentes. Il ne s'agit pas ici des hameaux de maisonnettes fabriquées en série avec des matériaux de quatre sous; chacun sait que le temps en aura vite raison. Je veux parler des maisons isolées à deux, trois, même quatre étages, construites en bois recouvert de brique; leur vogue remonte aux années 1934-1939. Interrompue pendant le dernier conflit, leur construction a repris de plus belle depuis cinq ans. Les quartiers récents de nos villes en sont encombrés. Cette architecture domestique, à laquelle l'architecte est rarement mêlé, appelle les plus grandes réserves. Que dire alors de l'architecture domestique édifiée avec des moyens de fortune, comme celle qui infeste nos faubourgs et nos villages? Il en faut dire le plus de mal pos-



sible, car elle est en train de salir tout le pays. Et les hommes de goût se demandent s'il ne convient pas d'appliquer ici les mesures qui se sont imposées dans les pays dévastés par la guerre; nous sommes dévastés par le mauvais goût.

C'est dans notre architecture religieuse que la tyrannie de l'esprit archéologique a mis le plus de temps à disparaître. A l'époque 1925, il est strictement de mode de construire une église dans un style arbitrairement choisi et imposé au moindre détail de l'édifice. Le premier accroc à la tradition archéologique est la nef de Matane; elle date des années 1933-1934. Dans cette nef, l'architecte a vu dans les six directions et a crée, à défaut d'une église de style dûment reconnu, une église qui a du style. Avec la maison Laroque et l'Université de Montréal, la nef de Matane est le monument le plus français qui ait été construit chez nous depuis un siècle.

Probablement parce que Matane est à l'extrême est du territoire, sa nef n'a exercé qu'une faible influence sur notre architecture religieuse. Au reste, même les oeuvres françaises de ce qu'on a appelé *les Chantiers du Cardinal* ont eu peu de répercussion sur nos églises. Le croirait-on? c'est un style de brique, un style de pays pauvre en pierre, un style issu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle flamand qui s'impose chez nous; et s'il s'impose, c'est moins par ses qualités intrinsèques que par le prestige de son répondant, Dom Bellot. En y regardant de près, on constate que ce style est une mode passagère, un substitut à l'architecture archéologique; la mode passera, le substitut changera d'objet. Mais où ira notre architecture religieuse après cette aventure? On a l'impression que tout est à recommencer. . .

#### LA PEINTURE

En 1925, l'événement le plus considérable de l'histoire de notre peinture est la mort de James-Wilson Morrice; nous le savons aujourd'hui, mais à l'époque, la disparition de cet artiste passe quasi inaperçue. Que devient la vieille Ecole de peinture? Suzor-Côté, notre seul peintre impressionniste, achève sa carrière utile; Walker ne brosse plus que de rares tableaux; Charles Huot et Eugène Hamel ralentissent leur activité; Delfosse se fait vieux et Brymner meurt à la tâche; Dyonnet, toujours alerte, forme toujours des élèves; les survivants de l'ancienne génération ont déposé leurs pinceaux. Une nouvelle équipe de peintres prend la relève. Jusqu'à quel point cette équipe—Clarence Gagnon, John Lyman, Adrien Hébert—subit-elle l'influence des artistes connus sous le nom de *Groupe des Sept*? L'étude de cette question ne manque pas d'intérêt. Elle ne nous mènerait pas loin, car le véritable problème de la peinture québécoise se pose tout autrement.

Au début de l'entre-deux-guerres, nos peintres suivent de loin les mouvements artistiques d'Europe, surtout les manifestations des artistes de l'Ecole dite de Paris. Non qu'ils s'opposent aveuglément aux tendances nouvelles, ni qu'ils soient enclins à les adopter. Ceux qui manquent d'imagination s'en tiennent<sup>a</sup> à la peinture de tout repos et mesurent leur adhésion à la modernité en acceptant les Impressionnistes; les esprits curieux s'amuse à la lecture des manifestes, mais ils évitent en général de prendre parti; seuls quelques artistes se passionnent pour les recherches hardies d'un Vlaminck, admirent sans partage Matisse et Picasso, prennent parti dans la querelle du réalisme et du surréalisme, cultivent d'étranges paradoxes sur l'intelligence et l'instinct, et sourient à l'audace en se frottant joyeusement les mains. Aussi longtemps que ce bouillonnement de l'esprit reste intérieur, notre Ecole de peinture continue son petit bonhomme de chemin. Car après tout, les dissensions des artistes parisiens se produisent loin de nous; elles ne sont point notre affaire. Or subitement, à la fin de 1940, nos artistes sont jetés en pleines querelles parisiennes; une certaine part de l'atmosphère artistique de Paris s'étend sur la Province, précisément sur la région montréalaise. Sans doute l'arrivée d'Alfred Pellan, de retour au Canada après un séjour de seize ans en France, est-elle pour quelque chose dans ce brusque changement de perspective. Mais j'imagine que le silence oppressant de Paris a favorisé ici la création d'un climat favorable au bouillonnement des idées: discussions sur l'essence et l'objet de la peinture, sur le renouvellement de la technique, sur la véritable signification du tableau, sur le rôle de l'intuition dans les arts. Bref l'Ecole de Montréal bouge; et à l'instar de l'Ecole de Paris, elle a enfin cette vigilance de l'esprit et cette souplesse de la sensibilité auxquelles les arts français doivent une si grande part de leur excellence.

Ce climat favorable, des artistes français contribuent à en maintenir la température aussi élevée que possible. En même temps, les expositions se multiplient; les collections particulières s'enrichissent à une cadence accélérée; la critique et la jeunesse entrent dans le bal; les polémiques gagnent les journaux et les revues, même les tréteaux; la curiosité est extrême. Il faut avoir assisté à l'une de ces discussions publiques pour se rendre compte de la fécondité des thèmes modernes et de l'attrait qu'ils exercent sur les jeunes artistes. Assurément nombre de discussions dégénèrent en querelles et celles-ci dressent parfois les uns contre les autres des hommes qui ne demanderaient pas mieux que de pouvoir librement *causer peinture* dans un coin d'atelier. Mais je constate que ces discussions ne laissent pas la peinture dans son état antérieur. Un certain genre de peinture est mort, qui ne reviendra plus; ou qui, du moins, ne s'imposera plus comme une concubine insolente. Une nouvelle peinture est apparue, dans laquelle l'imagination, la recherche

des formes, les harmonies inédites de couleurs et le maniement même de l'outil sont des conquêtes précieuses et fécondes.

Une telle vue des choses peut sembler excessive; à la réflexion, elle est juste. Elle accuse les vrais ferments intellectuels et esthétiques qui ont fécondé notre Ecole de peinture; elle rend compte des saines réactions de notre petit monde artistique, de son excellente santé morale; surtout, elle met l'accent sur la voie étroite mais glorieuse où s'engage une génération de rapins qui, tout autant que les artistes de la génération précédente, aspirent à l'originalité et à la perfection.

La peinture des douze dernières années peut-elle se comparer avec avantage à la peinture de l'époque 1925-1937? A mon sens, la réponse ne fait pas de doute. Précisons qu'il existe une qualité qu'elle ne possède pas au même degré que l'ancienne peinture: c'est la perfection technique, le souci du beau métier; qu'il en existe une autre qu'elle néglige volontairement: c'est la lisibilité du tableau, son accessibilité à toutes les intelligences et à tous les regards. En revanche, il faut convenir qu'elle a acquis un certain nombre de qualités qui font d'elle l'une des écoles modernes les plus vivaces: le caractère monumental et décoratif, la hardiesse et la fraîcheur des harmonies et des tons, l'ingéniosité et le rajeunissement des symboles, la souplesse des formes et des plans colorés, l'accent à la fois cérébral et sensuel d'un grand nombre de compositions, surtout la piaffante jeunesse de sa technique.

#### LA SCULPTURE

On sait de quel éclat a brillé notre Ecole de sculpteurs sur bois d'autrefois, notamment à la belle époque 1780-1840; on sait également qu'elle s'est maintenue pendant une grande partie du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et que finalement elle a succombé sous le plâtre et la tôle. Vers 1925, les ateliers de sculpteurs se font rares; quelques sculpteurs—tels Henri Angers et Elzéar Soucy—suffisent à satisfaire la clientèle d'église; seuls les maîtres du monument commémoratif—tel Henri Hébert—sont connus du grand public.

Eh bien! Chose à peine imaginable, en moins de quinze ans notre Ecole de sculpture est soumise à une transformation complète, et dans son esprit et dans sa technique. Je ne méprise pas l'action locale d'un Bailleul à Québec et d'un Henri Hébert à Montréal. Mais encore ici le ferment nous est venu de France, par le truchement des livres d'art. Heureusement il se présente à nous sous les deux formes classiquement idéales, sensualisme et mysticisme—Maillol et Charlier. L'action à la fois lointaine et toute proche de ces deux maîtres est nettement visible dans l'oeuvre déjà abondante des trois vedettes de notre sculpture contemporaine, Plamondon, Normandeau et Parent; action décisive, oui; mais



action consentie, acceptée librement par chacun des trois maîtres; non comme un aboutissement statique, mais comme un point de départ, une base vers l'élan à l'originalité. D'où l'admirable floraison d'oeuvres que l'action dualiste des deux maîtres français a inspirées.

Dans l'oeuvre des sculpteurs qui, à mon avis, suivent immédiatement ceux que je viens de nommer, l'influence des deux maîtres français est profondément salutaire. Dans leurs ouvrages, sensualité et mysticisme se répondent et s'équilibrent en un dialogue harmonieux; composition et dessin s'ordonnent autour de cette dualité d'inspiration; même la couleur, tour à tour employée comme symbole et comme source de plaisir visuel, accuse la saine influence dont je parlais tantôt. Chez eux, l'esprit fait bon ménage avec la matière. C'est le secret de la magnifique renaissance de notre sculpture. Renaissance du morceau de bravoure, oui; mais encore renaissance de l'ensemble décoratif.

Certes, les grands ensembles sculptés n'ont jamais disparu de notre art. L'un des derniers de l'ère archéologique, celui de Beauport, est aussi l'un des mieux exécutés au point de vue technique. Cependant dans la renaissance dont je parle, c'est l'esprit sculptural, c'est l'esprit décoratif qui domine, sans qu'intervienne la moindre réminiscence livresque. Qu'on songe qu'au moment où l'on termine, dans le genre baroque le plus insupportable, la décoration de l'église de Saint-Léon, à Westmount, Marius Plamondon met la première main aux esquisses de la chapelle du noviciat des clercs de Saint-Viateur, à Joliette. Deux décors sculptés; deux conceptions décoratives radicalement différentes. A Saint-Léon, le déjà vu joue vulgairement son rôle. A Joliette, c'est l'art le plus réfléchi et le plus spontané; art expressif et simple, qui étonne sans doute le spectateur par la hardiesse de son dessin et l'audace de son symbole, mais qui rejoint l'art solide des belles époques parce qu'il est un aliment pour l'esprit et une délectation pour les yeux.

D'autres ensembles de sculpture sont en cours d'exécution: le chemin de croix de l'Oratoire Saint-Joseph, à Montréal, et la grande frise historiée de la basilique de Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, par le sculpteur Louis Parent; ils promettent d'être des oeuvres magnifiques d'ordre et de mouvement.

La renaissance de notre sculpture se présente sous un autre aspect, la sculpture populaire. Voici son origine. Au cours de la crise de 1929-1934, des artisans isolés, chômeurs malgré eux, s'essayaient à la sculpture sur bois; comme ils sont habiles de leurs mains, ils réussissent sans peine à représenter des hommes et des animaux ou une quelconque scène populaire. La prospérité revenue, tout les pousse à se livrer à un art qu'ils ont appris à aimer. Il s'agit, on le devine, des sculpteurs sur bois qui, à la suite des Bourgault, de Saint-Jean-Port-Joli, ont créé une amusante population de paysans et de paysannes et des scènes populaires pleines de gaîté et de saveur. Si je me permets de signaler ici

cette renaissance, c'est qu'à l'occasion elle intéresse l'historien de l'art. Car il arrive parfois à ces artisans du bois de s'évader de leur artisanat et de s'élever, d'un coup de talent, jusqu'au grand art. C'est le cas des Bourgault. Dans la chaire de Saint-Jean-Port-Joli, Médard et Jean-Julien Bourgault composent et exécutent un meuble d'un galbe original et d'une ordonnance à la fois ingénieuse et naïve; ce meuble ne doit rien aux formes d'autrefois; il est d'esprit et d'exécution modernes. J'en dirais autant de certaines oeuvres de Jean-Julien Bourgault; par exemple les statuettes en noyer tendre de *Saint Pierre* et de *Saint Paul*, qu'il a sculptées en 1944 pour l'église de Saint-Pierre (Montmagny).

#### LES ARTS DÉCORATIFS

A l'époque 1920, il existe dans certains coins du pays des artisans attardés qui façonnent des catalognes, des croix de cimetière, des tapis crochetés et autres survivances de l'artisanat campagnard d'autrefois. Ce sont des isolés. L'artisanat canadien semble bien mort; et j'en vois la preuve dans le fait suivant: le jour où l'on veut le ressusciter, on en retrouve facilement certaines formules, mais on n'en retrouve plus l'esprit. Cet artisanat ne reverra le jour que d'une façon épisodique.

Au reste, ce n'est pas de lui que je veux parler. C'est de la subite floraison de nos arts décoratifs, il y a vingt ans à peine. Comment cette floraison a-t-elle pu se produire? Et d'abord d'où vient-elle? Quelle est l'étincelle qui a allumé génération de 1930 et l'a guidée dans la bonne voie? Voyons les faits.

Assurément l'idée était dans l'air. Idée d'abord tant soit peu agressive: il s'agit de faire pièce à la grande industrie; de se mesurer avec elle dans des possibilités techniques modernes et relativement abordables; de lui disputer, non sa clientèle, mais son monopole. Idée vaguement sentimentale: reprenant la totalité du patrimoine ancestral, il s'agit de faire revivre des techniques oubliées, de les appliquer avec méthode, puis de les faire servir à l'émancipation économique de la nation. Idée sociale même: le chômage et les difficultés passagères de l'embauchage poussent certains esprits généreux vers l'utilisation de la vertu sociale de l'artisanat et des arts décoratifs.

Cette idée a fait son chemin avec une rapidité étonnante. Et pour cause. L'exposition des Arts décoratifs de Paris en 1925; la publication de nombreuses revues illustrées, dans les pages desquelles ce qu'on appelait autrefois les *Arts mineurs* occupe la plus grande place; la création, à Montréal même, de la *Canadian Handicraft Guild*, société de connoisseurs entreprenants et éclairés; l'orientation progressive de nos musées et de nos écoles d'art vers la culture et la conservation des arts appliqués; le retour de Paris de certains boursiers de talent et la collaboration

de quelques artistes français renommés; la fondation de trois grandes écoles spécialisées; enfin, l'action intelligente et désintéressée de quelques artistes dont le prestige est indiscutable—voilà en peu de mots les causes diverses qui ont pesé avec tant de force sur notre opinion publique, et sur les dirigeants, que notre Ecole d'arts décoratifs a brillé presque en naissant et qu'elle ne cesse d'étendre sa bienfaisante tutelle à tous les domaines de l'art. Quand on y songe sérieusement, pouvait-il en être autrement? Et l'art moderne, avec sa soif de liberté et son hermétisme, avec son goût de la simplification et des symboles hardis, l'art moderne, dis-je, à l'instar de presque toutes les époques de transition, ne se tourne-t-il pas résolument vers l'esprit décoratif le plus totalitaire et le plus pur?

J'en suis d'autant plus certain qu'en abordant le problème par un autre côté, j'en arrive à la même conclusion. Dans une étude parue en 1946, René Huyghe a fait la distinction nette entre l'art sédentaire et l'art nomade. Le premier se développe par l'observation quotidienne chez les peuples rivaux au sol qu'ils exploitent. Le second n'a point d'attaches terriennes; il naît de l'esprit imaginaire des peuples en mouvement, des nomades. L'art romain, l'art ogival, l'art du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle sont des arts sédentaires: ils sont enfermés dans l'observation la plus attentive. L'art mauresque, l'art roman sont des arts de nomades: ils vivent de l'imagination, de la transposition de toute réalité, du rêve vécu. Le monde actuel, en dépit de sa sédentarité apparente, ne manque guère d'occasions de jouir de l'état de nomade. De corps, il reste plus ou moins en place—encore que les énormes transferts de populations de notre époque rompent singulièrement la moyenne de la sédentarité des hommes. Mais d'esprit? Mais d'imagination? Le journal quotidien, la revue populaire illustrée, le disque, la vulgarisation scientifique et littéraire, les expositions, surtout la radiodiffusion, ne sont-ce pas là des moyens d'évasion presque équivalents au paquebot, au chemin de fer, à l'automobile ou à la simple marche à pied? Pas tout à fait, mais enfin. . . Que l'art contemporain vive plus d'imagination que d'observation, la question peut-elle se poser? Qu'il glisse de plus en plus vers un caractère décoratif qui l'apparente aux civilisations de l'Antiquité, le fait ne semble-t-il pas évident? En architecture, on s'en doutait depuis quelques années; en sculpture également; en peinture, la critique ne l'admettait point il y a un demi-siècle, mais aujourd'hui l'accord est chose faite. Voilà pourquoi nos arts décoratifs, qui veulent être tout, sont en train d'annexer les autres et de leur imprimer leurs propres caractères.

Ils brillent en naissant, ai-je écrit tantôt. Et quelle aisance, quelle prodigalité, quelle perfection dans les premières oeuvres! Tel vase en argent ou tel morceau de ferronnerie de Gilles Beaugrand; tel meuble en érable moucheté ou tel ensemble domestique de Jean-Marie Gauvreau; telle verrière aux feux vifs ou tel bas-relief plein d'esprit et de couleur



de Marius Plamondon; telles pièces de céramique de Normandeau, de Spénard ou d'Archambault; telles reliures somptueuses de Beaudoin, de Dorion ou de Grypinich; tel tympan de portail en pierre sculptée d'Armand Filion; telle statuette colorée de Thibault—voilà des ouvrages décoratifs qui, dès les débuts du mouvement, marquent l'allégresse de nos artistes, la fécondité de leurs dons, la solidité de leur technique et la finesse de leur goût. Et combien d'autres noms ne faudrait-il pas citer ici, afin de rendre justice aux membres les mieux doués de cette équipe d'artisans fraternels!

Cependant il y avait, dès le début, un écueil grave. C'était de vouloir reproduire sans discernement, religieusement même, les formes et les techniques d'autrefois. On n'y a pas manqué. Les artisans et artisanes dont la culture artistique était déficiente ou l'imagination mal allumée, les exécutants routiniers qui estimaient inutile de raffiner sur des techniques qui avaient fait leurs preuves, les âmes sentimentales qui voulaient s'en tenir à la lettre même de la tradition, enfin les esprits indolents qui s'effraient de toute nouveauté et la repoussent instinctivement, bref tout ce bataillon là restait bravement sur ses positions, canardait parfois l'avant-garde, ou boudait ses chefs en rechignant. Ceux-ci ont su voir le piège et l'éviter: ils ont passé outre. Leur décision était sage. Rien ne sert de rallier des combattants qui piétinent sur place. Il n'y a qu'une chose à faire: abandonner la troupe fatiguée et regarder devant soi.

Le spectacle en vaut la peine. Car devant soi, c'est le noble jeu du dessin—le plus beau jeu du monde. C'est aussi le jeu décoratif—le plus excitant qui soit. C'est enfin le jeu hardi des techniques modernes—toute la gamme des techniques, avec leurs matériaux inédits et leurs mécaniques dociles, avec leurs difficultés et leurs ruses à déjouer, avec leurs mystérieuses possibilités matérielles. Mais en fin de labeur, il y a les réussites, l'esprit allègre et libre, la matière asservie.

#### LA CHRONIQUE DES ARTS

A la renaissance des arts dans la province de Québec, il convient d'associer la chronique même des arts.

Parfois, elle se présente comme une étude des formes; c'est ce genre qu'ont pratiqué Ramsay Traquair et l'auteur de ces lignes. Le plus souvent, elle se présente sous la forme d'essais chronologiques: histoire d'un monument, biographie d'un artiste, état d'un art à telle époque, compte rendu d'une exposition. Parfois la chronique des arts atteint le niveau de la véritable critique; le maître de ce genre a été et reste le regretté Marcel Parizeau; dans des études qu'a publiées le *Canada* de 1940 à 1945, il a analysé avec beaucoup de pénétration les méfaits d'un certain enseignement et les œuvres de quelques-uns de nos peintres contemporains.

A quelque genre qu'elle appartienne, la chronique des arts a bien joué son bout de rôle dans l'évolution artistique du Canada français. Qu'elle n'ait pu toujours montrer la voie droite aux artistes hésitants, ni canaliser les bonnes intentions, ni découvrir les véritables talents, il ne faut point s'en étonner. Mais elle a entretenu chez les artistes la ferveur nécessaire à l'éclosion des belles oeuvres; elle a attiré le public aux expositions et poussé l'amateur à l'achat d'oeuvres d'art; en deux mots, elle a été à sa manière un stimulant énergique.

Toutefois ne nous abusons point. La chronique des arts n'est point et ne peut pas être la critique d'art. Trop de choses l'en séparent, dont la première est la véritable culture artistique que doit posséder tout homme qui se mêle d'écrire sur le sujet. Chez nous, rares sont les écrivains qui sont pourvus de cette culture essentielle. Seraient-ils nombreux, la situation ne serait guère meilleure; car ils ne sauraient où loger leur prose. Le seul remède serait la création d'une revue spécialisée, indépendante à la fois de la politique et des coteries, ouverte à toutes les manifestations artistiques, anciennes et modernes.

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## PAINTING

CHARLES F. COMFORT

### THE INTERPRETATION OF A CANADIAN SPIRIT IN PAINTING

THE visual arts in Canada have been known to reflect the spirit of this country since the third quarter of the seventeenth century. In a virgin country, such as Canada was when first settled, the modes of expression were naturally closely derivative of those practised in the parent countries from which our settlers came. As time passed, these derivative modes became modified and adapted to the environmental situation. As an economic structure and political framework were established, creative activity came into play. With growing maturity, the movement has been toward aesthetic emancipation and national self-consciousness, qualified today by a growing awareness of the concept of world government.

It is in French Canada that we see earliest evidences of a culture which adapted itself to Canadian conditions. The English in Massachusetts and the Dutch on the Hudson developed a colonialism of their own, in architecture and in the crafts, but their protestant austerity was of a very different character to the baroque culture which was the heritage of the French on the St. Lawrence. It has been the gradual modification of this culture to the conditions of the Canadian environment, and the awareness of a resourceful and gifted people, that has given French Canada its unique character.

Consideration of a Canadian spirit in painting does, of course, give rise to the perennial argument surrounding "national" and "universal" characteristics in any activity which might be described as art. For many raised on the aesthetic theories of the twentieth century, nationalism in art constitutes a problem weighted with peril. It is considered that "national" like "international" has a kind of political connotation, that it refers to politically separated groups, whereas "universal" implies humanity as a whole, a profound appeal for individuals everywhere. Art, to be "Canadian" in the only sense worth talking about, is the creative expression of the artist, creating out of his own experience in his own environment, reflecting the spirit of both, which may be national and yet be universal in the most profound sense.

The question of whether or not there exists an authentic and apprehendable spirit, symbolic of Canada and Canadian life, leaves no doubt in my mind. The spirit of a people finds formulation in those unique qualities of national character which results from heredity and environment as those generalizations are modified by conditions at any given time. The pattern and incidence of these conditions is not constant, particularly in the modern world, but varies with development and change. In considering the matter of Canadian heredity, it may be generally admitted that basically our ethnic and cultural heritage is French and British. Today, of course, our population complex is more varied, with many new and vital strains added to the basic stock. In the field of environmental influences are all those matters external to the individual which affect his behaviour. Of these factors the most stable have been our physical environment, climate and terrain; the most variable, communications, industrial capacity, scientific and institutional development. Naturally many of these factors are not merely local, but common to all modern civilization and at present subject to very rapid, almost unpredictable, change. Modern communications, with their tendency to reduce time and space, are doing much to establish and strengthen common ground for thought and behaviour. Conversely, of course, they reduce the cohesive strength of national unity.

Within this total milieu develops the characterful Canadian spirit, essentially northern, displaying much that is characteristic of northern peoples, individualistic, conservative, loyal, independent, virile and industrious; the Canadian, in whom are mobilized the special form of his respect for his Creator, his ideals, his conflicts, his insights, his triumphs and frustrations.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF THE GROUP OF SEVEN

More has been written about the Group of Seven than any other aspect of Canadian culture, either before or since their advent. In my opinion, they arrived on the scene at that climactic moment when the rising tide of national spirit in a young land cried out for objectification in a new and vigorous way. The time was ripe and, as interpreters, the Group were apt. They had just the right blend of national idealism, crusade, lyricism, audacious enterprise, and intellectual and economic independence necessary to make the movement the success it was.

At the time of the Group's ascendancy, the ties of European cultural dependency were yielding to the pressure of Canadian requirements. The sap was rising with an awareness of our national growth. This is not to imply that our heritage had been rejected or discarded; we were more conscious and respectful of it than ever. But we were suddenly utilizing

its powers in a new way, for the purpose of expressing our own national vitality.

At the time the Group of Seven was preparing for its first exhibition in May of 1920, we had become a confident, self-reliant young nation. We had built the industrial, political and moral framework of an international power. We had emerged on the victorious side in the greatest war in history. Peace and an unparalleled measure of security had come to the world. There was a feeling of expansive energy abroad. The Group's heritage was peace and prosperity, heightened by those compelling energies activated by the conflict just then concluded. Riding the mounting crest of national enthusiasm, the Canadian art movement which had had its beginnings just before the war (c.1912) now crystallized in the work of the Group of Seven.

For me, the Group is symbolic of Canada's coming-of-age aesthetically. Their advent is a landmark in our cultural history, representing a new era of liberal thought and action in relation to the arts. It was the culmination of a growing impatience with hidebound traditionalism and moribund practices. But, most important for us as a young nation, it released a spirit of national consciousness which has been beneficial in the widest sense. I regard the influence of the Group as being highly important as a factor contributing to a national morale, quite apart and separate from its stylistic character and its significance as a school of painting. The movement focused attention upon our national consciousness. The aggressive rhythms and the energetic colour embodied in the paintings of the Group implied the quality of Canadian life itself. The legacy of bold dynamic canvases which they have left us is the portrait of ourselves. They have created a tradition worthy of Canada and Canadians. As the years pass and the last obstinate philistine loses his power of protest, our youth is proud of this tradition. It is something to be preserved and protected.

The liberalizing power of the Group's production and influence is also important. Perhaps had these seven personalities never come together, a similar development might still have occurred. It might have taken a different form, it might not have been as effective, it might have been delayed. Certainly the time was ripe for it. There had been a strong assumption on the part of older artists and art organizations that there was only one proper cultural attitude, one proper tradition, of which they were the appointed guardians; it took no stock of development, no stock of Canada. In overcoming this moribund authority, the Group performed a singularly valuable national service.

The Group's influence on the young artists of this country has been important and valuable. In the official statement they made in February, 1933, the only statement of their aims and attitudes other than a



few introductory remarks appearing as forewords to exhibitions, they said:

"The Group of Seven has therefore always believed in an art inspired by the country, and that the one way in which a people will find its own individual expression in art is for its artists to stand on their own feet, and by direct experience of the country itself, and its inexhaustible variety of new and untried themes, to produce works in terms of its own time and place . . . It has also always maintained for themselves and others the right of freedom of expression, believing that only in diversity of outlook will there ever be a wide-spread interest in the arts in this country . . ."

This, in fact, summarizes their teaching and their influence among the young artists. It states the case against those who have attacked on the grounds of the derivative origins of the separate individual idioms employed by members of the Group and the claim that they constituted no "school" in the accepted sense of the term, from which learning might be derived.

At mid-century, thirty years following their advent, it may be said that the Group of Seven has contributed in an inspiring way to the enrichment and stability of Canadian consciousness. We cannot artificially recreate the circumstances which led to their happy association. We can protect the legacy and provide the soil in which such fruitful movements survive.

#### CANADIAN PAINTING TODAY

In many quarters there is a growing awareness of the changes taking place in Canadian painting today. Although it cannot be said to be consciously under international influence, it cannot be denied that the aesthetically aware Canadian is influenced by world trends. This is surely natural and certainly not a new tendency. The assumption that any influence not peculiarly Canadian is inimical to the development of a genuinely Canadian culture is fundamentally wrong. Total environment for Canadians has never been confined to experiences originating within their own borders. That it should be so for creative artists any more than for doctors or scientists would seem unreasonable. Modern civilization with its rapid change, and modern communications with their tendency to reduce time and space, are an ever-increasing influence on the cultural as well as other developments within our country. These factors tend to reduce the cohesive strength of national unity. My contention is that nevertheless Canadian painting has not yet lost its national flavour. The imagery employed may have changed, but that is to be expected and hoped for. Our creative artists have developed out of and away from romanticism, toward a more cosmopolitan expression. The current trend is toward terms of abstraction and away from imitative naturalism. Abstraction embraces a broad tendency, ranging from mild distortions of natural forms to a

complete non-objectivity. The work of the Group of Seven comes within the category of romantic naturalism. They employed simplifications, rhythmic distortions and colour intensifications to obtain their effects. Today one of their number, Mr. Lawren Harris, has moved to the other end of the scale in his completely non-objective creations. To paraphrase his own explanation: his work is still representational, not of things seen in nature but of ideas—plastic, philosophic, social—representations of inner perceptions, thoughts and emotions, dealt with in their own autonomous terms. Mr. Harris's art has moved from one plane to another, but in that transition it is none the less Canadian. The aware creative artists among our painters are tirelessly searching out new interpretations and expressions of the shifting ground of their environment.

In comparing the creative arts in Canada today with those which followed the first World War we must compare the environmental differences. The first World War was "a war to end wars" and for nearly a decade there were many who felt that premise to be an accomplished fact. The security felt in that brief hiatus contributed largely to the character of creative energy which emerged at that time. The artists of that decade interpreted their environment in terms of romantic naturalism. They visualized a colourful ordered world into which one might move in peace and security. Following World War II the situation is significantly different. The struggle for world power is upon us. We are concerned that in that struggle there is a threatened danger to the freedom of the individual and the true spiritual democracy which has always characterized western culture. We are aware too of sweeping technological changes taking place all about us today. Whereas change should be an accepted phenomenon, part of the natural process of development, there are characteristics about the pace of change today that must give rise to doubt in the minds of many, a pace far outstripping the normal flow of natural progression.

This world of change and speed has been a doubtful nursery for the artist. He continues his task of objectifying the spirit of his times. His function has not changed. In Canada such invariables as topography and climate have not altered; certain institutions remain steadfast. But the variables of environment have changed and are changing rapidly and continuously. The creative artist in Canada today can no longer reflect a stable, parental, geographically local culture. His struggle is an adaptation to circumstances, new, and common to European, American and Canadian cultures alike.

By far the most stable expression in the visual arts today is emanating from the United Kingdom, the most eclectic and experimental from the United States. Somewhere between comes the French and the Hispano-American schools. It would be of great value to Canadian painters and sculptors if a closer relationship were maintained with the United Kingdom

and with France. Such a policy would be in line with those sympathies and loyalties which are part of our cultural heritage.

Today the avant-garde, supported by many authorities and institutions, appears to be in the saddle in the United States. They provide a scene of continuous experimentation in an effort to adapt and adjust to their fluctuating environment and with a view to creating a new art of the twentieth century. This continuing "frontierism" has made the United States the art laboratory of the modern world and all eyes, concerned with the flux of contemporary visual expression, are focused on them. This is not to suggest that the most outstanding achievement in modern painting is being made in the United States, but only that it is the crucible from which achievement may well come.

Being an immediate and powerful neighbour with a common language, monetary system, and, in fact, a common heritage and purpose in the modern world, it is not surprising that Canadians regard with more than passing interest what is happening in the United States. The factor which creates the most profound influence is that of modern communications, with their tendency to reduce time and space and establish and strengthen a common ground for thought and behaviour. Canadians still discriminate and adapt to their own environmental needs, but if a new approach, a fresh device, a new material, some unexpected form of imagery appears and finds acceptance in the United States, it is immediately subject to Canadian scrutiny, testing, and possible adaptation. This is neither new nor surprising. It does not apply only to art originating in the United States, but because of our immediate proximity, easy access to publications, more frequent opportunities to view original work, it does apply more frequently to forms of art originating in that country, although it scarcely seems to affect the art of French-speaking Canada. It may be said, however, that the American influence on Canadian art today exists in the form of the challenge it establishes. It is the challenge of a powerful neighbour. As Robert Ayre has said, "If American thought is influencing widely separated sections of the contemporary world today, how can we evade it? We too are North Americans, and stimuli originating in North America reach us very quickly." This is very true; the greatest influence is created by our geographical proximity and those factors which have already been mentioned, common language, heritage, currency, etc. Added to these is the overwhelming economic power of the United States today and the glamorous offers which attract Canadian talent and brains in every activity of modern life. That alluring and constant temptation recalls Mr. Robertson Davies' play, *Fortune My Foe*, where, in the last scene, Nicholas says:

"... Everybody says Canada is a hard country to govern, but nobody mentions that for some people it is also a hard country to



live in. Still, if we all run away it will never be any better. So let the geniuses of easy virtue go southward; I know what they feel too well to blame them. But for some of us there is no choice; let Canada do what she will with us, we must stay."

#### CONTEMPORARY PAINTING

So much is said and yet so little is known about contemporary trends in painting. The movement is one of diversity, restlessness, and the arbitrary interpretation of variables. Trends are less inclined to take account of regions, and we find continental, or even hemispherical boundaries, becoming blurred or impotent in the face of the rapid spread of new thought. Tendencies are toward the expression of driving inner impulses, and the cryptic utterances of semiconscious moods. Many modern statements are aristocratic in character, have no rational communicative force whatever, and arouse only psychic responses in certain sensitively aware minds. There is, of course, such a thing as a rational modernity, where imagery is employed and ordered with wider communicative intentions. I refer to those developments in the United Kingdom which have found accomplished expression recently. The British school today exhibits an informed expression, typical and indigenous to the British temperament and spirit, yet who will say that men like Henry Moore and Robert Colquhoun are not cosmopolitan citizens of the modern world? They manage to achieve this distinction without doing violence to a continuing tradition. The French school today is also stimulating, although many of the young men are becoming obviously repetitious of the brilliant intuitive idiom of the masters of the *Ecole de Paris*. There appears very little movement beyond that glittering epoch, as if they hesitated to transgress its established and accepted forms.

Generally speaking, the mutations of change today are so brief and tentative in their currency, that any thoughtful person must realize their transitory character. The economic doctrine of obsolescence seems now to apply as effectively to the visual arts as it does to so many manufactured articles.

Much of the superficial characteristics of the painting today may not survive the decade with effective currency, but like the psychiatrist with his patient on the couch, we must encourage the patient to talk himself out. Perhaps the sooner the modern world confesses the true character of its hysteria, the sooner some composure will return. Though the results are sometimes baffling, who will gainsay that a great deal of modern music, modern architectures, modern painting and sculpture, are not vital and exciting and a reflection of our times?

In my opinion it is necessary to establish the idea of one single tradition, sufficiently broad to include the most diverse kinds of experiment,

but at the same time sufficiently narrow to exclude the manifold failures and heresies with which the course of every human activity is encumbered. There are not several different and conflicting traditions in western art, to which each movement properly belongs. We constantly see the best work of each movement separated by taste and experience from the inferior work and added to the main body of traditional achievement. Thus, within our own generation, we have seen the expressionist painters take rank among the great masters. And as far as anything can be humanly known, we know that this judgement we have formed will not be disturbed by the verdict of posterity. We ourselves are the creators of this thing called tradition. It is not imposed on us by the past, nor should it fetter the minds of the adventurous present. If we are able to look upon tradition as successful experiment, it becomes a living element in our creative work, living because it is ever changing and growing, and because its change and growth are our own.

Undoubtedly there has grown up today a factional dispute between those creating and supporting conceptual forms, as opposed to perceptual forms in the visual arts. What I ask of the protagonists is that they practise some tolerance and realize that they are both movements within a single tradition, a tradition which we must all of us seek to preserve, if we are to remain free men.

#### FEDERAL CONCERN WITH CULTURAL MATTERS

I believe the time has come in our complex but limited economy, in our diverse lives, where a greater stimulus must be offered to ensure standards and production in the visual arts in the interests of national consciousness and unity. This visualizes an increase of federal concern in cultural matters, a condition already implied by the appointment of the Royal Commission.

Some form of state assistance would seem to be advisable for the further development of the arts in the interests of the cultural welfare of Canada. It is suggested that we regard the British Arts Council as a successful example to which we may refer in formulating any plan of our own. What should be remembered, however, is that the success of the British experiment is bound closely with the rather unusual sociopolitical traditions of that country. An identical plan need not attain parallel success elsewhere. The British have a long history; they are culturally mature; their country is geographically simple to administer; they are well integrated spiritually and morally. This equips them, as few nations are, to indulge in the procedures of the welfare state with reference to cultural matters, without prejudice to their freedom spiritually. In fact it is claimed that the

arts are bringing immeasurably more spiritual solace to the British public than was ever known before.

The whole matter of state concern with the arts assumes that they are activities of more than private and individual importance. To the extent that this assumption may be inconsistent with fundamental democratic principles must be the limit to which it may be indulged. History points out that the arts have in the past been exploited, not only for the aggrandizement of the state, but as an instrument of national publicity (Italy and Germany). If the enlightened modern state will concern itself with the arts as an agency for promoting national unity through public spiritual welfare, there would appear little justification for concern, and no conflict with the principles of democratic freedom.

If a competent body should be set up in Canada to deal with cultural problems, no more exemplary model could be found than that offered by the British Council and the Arts Council of Great Britain.

If it is agreed that a competent body be organized to deal with cultural problems in Canada, and it is further agreed that the parallel British project offers a successful model, then it might be well first to examine the Charter of Incorporation (1940) which brought the British plan into existence. This is something I have not been able to do, although familiar with the composition and function of the Council. We are, of course, not entirely bankrupt of ideas ourselves and may well develop an original plan of our own. Many recommendations, dealing with the composition of such a national body have been embodied in briefs submitted to the Royal Commission.

The aim in planning such a body should be to create the most efficient organization possible, consistent with the successful fulfilment of the task involved. Whereas the British organization consists of two bodies, the British Council dealing with the Commonwealth and Foreign problems, and the Arts Council of Great Britain dealing with internal or home problems, our most urgent need is the domestic one, although our participation in cultural exchanges abroad must be considered.

One of the agencies to be affected by any new policy in this regard would undoubtedly be the National Gallery of Canada. It seems clear that the role of the National Gallery need not be changed, but that some extension of its services would be in the general public interest. From the National Gallery's brief to this Commission it would seem that their relationship with the Ministry of Public Works hampers their "freedom of action." I am of the opinion that the National Gallery should be set up as an autonomous body, responsible directly to the Secretary of State. This change, along with the numerical expansion of the Board of Trustees of



the National Gallery, should lend a greater measure of independent action and a more vital integration with the cultural problems of the country.

The value of the collection in the National Gallery to those engaged in Canadian painting must be added to the Gallery's other activities to find the national value of that institution. An artist of worth, whether a modernist or not, recognizes his identity with the traditions of western European culture; he is interested in the successive developments and contributions to his inheritance over the years. He is also interested in how other artists, in other parts of the world and in other parts of Canada, interpret the shifting environment of the present. The collection in the National Gallery is analogous in its value to a well-stocked library to a modern writer. The eloquence of original painting is without parallel as an inspirational mentor. In the original painting the artist sees how another has solved not only the problem of a material technique, but the far more subtle confessions of iconography, ideology, and aesthetics, each reflecting the artist's interpretation of his time, his people, and his environment. I believe the publicly owned collection of paintings in the National Gallery of Canada are of inestimable value to the painter today. One would wish that the collection might be made available to every serious student of Canadian art. When asked where he had learned to paint, Renoir is said to have replied, "At the Louvre".

Traditionally a national gallery is a repository of painting, prints and sculpture, representative of both national accomplishment and of the heritage subscribed to. Actually, a national gallery is more than that. It is an agency of central government, devoted to those cultural activities described as the visual arts, in their relation to public spiritual welfare. The primary aim of instituting the National Gallery of Canada is described in the Act of Incorporation as being the encouragement and cultivation of correct artistic taste, and the maintenance and promotion of the public interest in the fine arts in Canada. Although this phraseology implies there is only one proper cultural attitude, I feel that in the midst of modern diversity the phrasing is understood to mean the guardianship of tradition and heritage. In the present struggle for world power it has a very real significance.

It is possible that many of the National Gallery's activities would become the responsibility of an advisory authority should such be set up. However, if it were not, then the entire programme could become the responsibility of the National Gallery. Not only would an expansion of services increase the immediate usefulness of the National Gallery, but they would supply the basic cultural needs of the country, contributing to a regenerated Canadianism. Neglect, on the other hand, can only lead to a disintegration of cultural unity and further restlessness and frustration.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion it may well be asked, under which system is art likely to prosper, where the state plays a part as patron, or where that function relies upon the voluntary interest and support of private institutions and individuals?

In proposing any answer to a question of this magnitude, it is necessary to take careful stock of those conditions of life and living which we are trying to assist and perpetuate. It is relatively simple to set up on paper elaborate instruments for the control of human affairs, but it is another matter to anticipate their ultimate effect. So much depends on implementation, and on the interpretation of intentions.

As has been said, in Great Britain the tradition of concern for every aspect of public welfare is old, and not common only to the policies of the present administration of that country. The British people have attained a degree of maturity in their social and political development, and in their democratic cultural development, hardly to be found elsewhere in the modern world. The very maturity and self-discipline of the British mentality is what lends such confident and assured success to the function of the machinery they have set up. In a younger, less experienced, and more diversely populated state, similar measures might tend toward restriction and exploitation.

The United States today is the most powerful democratic state in the world. There, rugged individualism flourishes with almost disconcerting realism in the world of commerce and industry, and the policy of free unrestricted enterprise extends to and includes the sphere of American painting. Generally speaking painting and painters are flourishing there as they never have before; there would seem little need of the patronage afforded by the "welfare state". One must remember however that during the economic depression of the 30's the Roosevelt administration set up machinery primarily as a relief measure for artists, but not altogether without reference to the broader field of American culture (Arts Procurement Division of the Treasury), so that the American scene does provide a precedent for measures of assistance where conditions of economy require it.

It would seem that the only valid reason for a state concern with the arts arises when it is shown that the character of local conditions endanger the preservation and development of the cultural heritage. In a small industrialized modern state, the task of supporting adequate cultural activities has far outstripped the capacity of private and voluntary means, a circumstance which must be well documented in the briefs submitted to the Royal Commission on Cultural Affairs. In expressing a hope that some instrument for the assistance and development of the arts may be set up

in Canada, I am confident that it would play a most useful and vital part in our spiritual regeneration. But its constitution and the fruitful fulfilment of its function depend upon a careful consideration of the dangers as well as the advantages of such a procedure. The value of democracy rests in a respect for individual rights and individual differences which should be preserved rather than restricted or inhibited.

When the very existence of their culture was threatened by war, Britain took steps to ensure its preservation and development both at home and abroad. This admirable policy on the part of a wise and experienced state is convincing evidence of the store that is placed on the spiritual life of its people. What the artist has always needed is patronage and a forum. Both of these requirements are being fulfilled today under the diverse systems of patronage exemplified in Great Britain and the United States. Only time will answer the question as to which will produce a more important result.

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## ARCHITECTURE

ERIC ARTHUR

### THE BACKGROUND

EUROPEAN visitors have commented on the "rawness" of Canadian cities. The fact must be admitted, but the reasons for rawness are not hard to find by anyone who is aware of our growth as a nation, or of the movements which swept the English-speaking world in the nineteenth century. The absence of fine or uniform street architecture, either domestic or commercial, is most noticeable in cities because, there, growth has been most rapid. The urbanity and charm of ancient European cities does not spring from the work of architects over the last hundred years which we may take, quite generously, to be the period of active building in Canada. On the contrary, that has been a period of architectural confusion that has given a comparable "rawness" to many a European town.

The visitor to Canada might see Quebec and Montreal, and he would be delighted with what he saw of the old town; he would likely not see Bath, Port Hope, Maitland, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Kingston or Guelph in Ontario, and towns and villages of similar size in Quebec or Nova Scotia. There he would find pale shadows of eighteenth century towns abroad. He would not find the overall unity of Bath in England, but he would find evidence of architectural good manners in a block of buildings, in a group, or in a fairly large old residential section. Violent growth has not affected these places; competition between store keepers has not led to gaudy signs or a flashy frame to the store, and the repetition of a dwelling unit in two, three or a terrace is still not considered evidence of poverty of imagination on the part of the designer.

Such an architecture in the older provinces is our vernacular. It had its roots in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and undoubtedly had an influence on later building. This is particularly true of Montreal. In few countries were the 1860's marked by unity of street design, yet in Montreal, the Prince of Wales Terrace (between Peel and Metcalfe) dates from 1861. The row of buildings north of this on Tameworth (now Peel Street) was built in 1865, and parts of Prince Rupert Place (now McTavish) were begun in the same year. The houses on these streets, in spite of their period, exhibit the order and unity of design characteristic of eighteenth century towns in Europe.

Generally speaking, the "old town" everywhere in Canada was small and vulnerable. It was always on a waterfront where commerce required warehouses, and railways to serve them. Growth demanded demolition, primitive or non-existent building codes produced shoddy building, and devastating fires took their toll of old and new buildings in comparatively large areas. As a result, there was never enough of the vernacular to withstand the shocks of successive waves of imported Gothic, Classic, Romanesque and Flemish architecture. The second half of the nineteenth century was notable for the introduction of photography, comparative ease of foreign travel, the infiltration of architectural magazines like the *American Builder*, and the general confusion of thought which marked the full tide of the industrial revolution.

Countries like Sweden and Switzerland, with a vernacular architecture developed over a thousand years and with an economy unaffected by violent growth in the nineteenth century, continued their tradition of building. Modern architecture, in these countries, shows the powerful effect of older manners of building that give their contemporary architecture a richness and a humanity which is in marked contrast with the architectural products of those other countries which have accepted the machine and a complete break with tradition.

Even the older cities of Canada, with the possible exception of Quebec, had no such firmly planted tradition. What there was, was of recent date and in the path of the relentless march of industrial and commercial progress.

When one thinks of Edmonton, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Saskatoon, starting from scratch after 1867, in an era that heralded the worst excesses of nineteenth century eclecticism, the critic should find more to praise than to blame. In those pioneer communities the voice of William Morris appealing to his English countrymen and the world at large for a return to beauty and order in architecture and the objects of daily use, must have been faint indeed—if, in fact, it was ever heard.

What calls most loudly for condemnation cannot be laid at the feet of the architect. It is only in highly civilized, highly developed states that the services of the architect are considered essential for the smallest structures. Under pioneer conditions, the architect, if he exists at all, is considered a luxury. As a consequence, miles of commercial and residential Canadian streets reflect the ignorance of their speculative builders and the taste of their owners. Vulgarly of the flamboyant kind requires a certain flair and courage on the part of the designer, and a willingness to pay for it on the part of the owner. It would be hard to find such examples in Canada.

On the whole, we went our rather pedestrian way and, if we lacked prophets and original minds like Sullivan, Richardson or Wright, we pro-

duced a body of professional men whose achievements were matched by the conservatism of their clients.

In Mr. Geoffrey Scott's definition, Romanticism "may be said to consist in a high development of poetic sensibility towards the remote, as such. It idealizes the distant, both of time and place . . . Its most typical form is the cult of the extinct." It was natural, in a country without architectural roots except in the Province of Quebec, and to a lesser extent in Nova Scotia and Ontario, that a pioneer people would turn to their homeland for inspiration. Houses were Georgian or Jacobean; university buildings, Gothic or Renaissance; and Legislative Buildings, Greek or Gothic. Always, in the thinking of the time, there was something appropriate about the choice, like the selection of a dress for a particular occasion. Georgian houses look comfortable, a Federal Government building could hardly do better than follow the style of the "Mother of Parliaments", and financial institutions saw in Imperial Rome an architecture that symbolized power and wealth and the security the customer would associate with masonry walls and a Corinthian portico. That this literary attitude toward architecture is far from dead is evident in many recent buildings.

#### THE PRESENT

Confusion as to the direction which modern architecture will take is less noticeable in the Schools of Architecture than it is in the works of private practitioners. Not that the schools, either individually or collectively, have found a balance between the frequently opposing interests of humanism and scientific discovery. Unlike the eighteenth century architect or his modern imitators, the architect today is not acting a part in a well-known play in which he is word perfect in his lines. Instead, as Mr. J. M. Richards pointed out, he finds himself in the middle of the stage performing in a play for which only the introduction has been written. That is a situation in which the architect has not found himself since the Middle Ages. Vitruvius and his English translator, Sir Henry Wotton, wrote the Renaissance play, and while some played it well and some indifferently, the text, in the main, was there.

There is in Canada, as in other countries, the kind of architect for whom modern architecture is just a fashion and a cliché like the corner window, the strip window or the purposeless canopy is readily accepted as a substitute for time-consuming research for more suitable forms. For the conscientious architect, anxious to play his part in a world-wide movement which carries, in its ideals, his deepest convictions, there is confusion enough. He has been aware of the functional tradition since the 1880's in the United States; he has seen the International Style heralded as the last word in the new architecture, only to be condemned for its



poverty of emotional appeal. To offset the sterility of internationalism, he has seen the growth of the "new empiricism" in Sweden, and its frequent lapses into neo-romanticism. Mechanization and its opposite, the organic of Mr. Frank Lloyd Wright have had, and still have, their exponents. Even "Sharawaggi", a conscious and studied informality which Sir Wm. Temple discovered in China in 1564, has been revised, not only for landscape, but for buildings.

Naturally, the Schools of Architecture, rather than the architects' offices, provide the atmosphere for the sifting down of ideas and the free exchange of ideas on all aspects of modern architecture.

It will be some years yet before the impact of present and recent graduates will be fully or even partly felt. They have the advantage of a youthful idealism and of a philosophy of architecture which comes from study over five years, and access to good libraries and the finest professional magazines from Europe and the United States. Few architectural offices take more than two magazines—*The Forum* and *The Record*, both published in the United States.

In the larger offices, the architect is usually quite cut off, by administrative duties, from architectural design, and the recent graduate will be given an opportunity to show his worth. There are, however, many architects—perhaps the majority—who do design, and quite a few have been able to adjust themselves with great credit to the new approach to design and construction. Evidence of their adjustment and of their appreciation of the fundamentals of modern design are not lacking in Canadian cities.

There is no doubt that with the advancement of science, modern architecture will develop, until like Gothic, it will become a great movement that will cover the civilized world.

The emphasis on the "machine" in prewar Internationalism in architecture suggested a similarity of building from Russia to New Zealand. To-day, we watch with interest the emergence of those regional characteristics that marked previous great historic movements in architecture. Some are already distinguishable in Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, the Eastern United States, California, and British Columbia.

The British Columbia houses probably have their origin in an adaptation of Cape Cod. Irregular sites are typical, and even in the Cape Cod prototype, people had become accustomed to one storey and a free, as opposed to to a Georgian, plan. The obvious advantages to be taken of commanding views, and of wood as a relatively cheap native material, set the stage for the irregular, low modern house. The influence of Californian building is also unmistakable.

In the rest of Canada, no such tendency is noticeable. The prototype is more compact for the conservation of heat in winter and its exclusion

in summer. New materials of all kinds flood the market, and the architecture of neighbouring states in the United States confounds, rather than clarifies, the issue. Radical changes in insulation, new methods of heating, like radiant heated ceilings and double and triple glazing, make it possible—at a price—to provide maximum view and daylight even in the rigorous climates to be found East of the Rockies. Even so, it would seem unlikely, in the evolution of modern architecture, that another generation would build similar houses in Edmonton and Niagara-on-the-Lake.

It is not to be expected that regional characteristics will appear more quickly than they did in historic times. Ease of foreign travel, the international architectural magazines, the absence of a vernacular and a plethora of building materials, would all indicate that regional progress will be slower. To talk of a Canadian Architecture is not far-fetched so long as one recognizes that within it will be found all the difference in spirit between York Minster and Salisbury Cathedral. To talk, on the other hand, of a Canadian Architecture indistinguishable in manner from coast to coast is to deny the basic principles of modern architecture, and to ignore the cultural heritage of our country.

#### ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION IN CANADA

The Architectural Schools in Canada assumed an important role when the architects in the different provinces obtained their Registration Acts, (the Province of Quebec first, Ontario 1931, with the other provinces following shortly after.) From the dates of registration on, the Schools of Architecture became the principal means of entrance to the profession—by law. Student draughtsmen may take the examinations of their Provincial Associations, but the course is a long one, and the student is almost wholly dependent for his “education” on the goodwill and interest of his employer. (The number of such students is highest in British Columbia. In Ontario there are not more than 25.) Registration is practically automatic for the graduate from a University School of Architecture after two years of experience with an architect (one year in the Province of Quebec).

The approximate date of 1931 is an important one in a discussion of architecture in Canada, because prior to that date a person could call himself an architect whether he were “trained” as such or not. He might have come up through the building trades, he might have been a senior draughtsman, he might be a graduate of a School of Architecture, or he might have no special qualifications at all. The majority had become architects through some form of apprenticeship.

If for a year prior to 1931, in Ontario, a person could prove that he

had practised architecture for a living as a professional man he was registered as an architect in his province. The Province of Quebec Association and the Ontario Association of Architects had been in existence as organizations of elected members since 1890 or earlier, while other provincial associations are of more recent date. The Provincial Registration Acts brought into practice and, later, membership in the associations, individuals of unequal general education, and architectural ability. The Acts, however, referred only to "practice for one year prior to Registration." Age, the depression and war have taken their toll of most of those whose qualifications for architectural practice could have been higher than they were in 1931, and every year the vitality of the profession is stimulated by new blood from the schools.

Prior to 1931, there were two recognized methods of obtaining an architectural education. There were the Schools of Architecture and the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* in Paris—and there was the ancient and, in places, honourable system of articles and apprenticeship. The latter system flourished in England and Scotland and produced some great men. In Britain, the young man fresh from high school or a university would be indentured to an architect for three or four years, and emerge an architect, sound in the practical aspects of his craft and with a competence in design greatly influenced by the work of his employer.

In Canada, apprenticeship rarely had the dignity and recognition that it enjoyed in Edinburgh or London, nor were there many cases where the pupil was legally bound to an employer by articles and the payment to his employer of an annual tuition fee. More likely, he would enter the office as a young man and stay till he felt experience in another office in Canada or the United States would benefit him. During his period of employment, he would read for examinations set by his Provincial Association and prepare designs for buildings. Examinations were, and still are, in two phases, Intermediate and Final, and were based on those conducted by the Royal Institute of British Architects in London. It should be said, without prejudice I hope, that little can be claimed for so casual and limited a system of training, and, in no sense can it be described as a method of education.

The question arises whether democracy is best served by the "back entrance" to the profession. This method of becoming an architect is sometimes called the "hard" way by older architects who arrived by that method themselves. Nothing could be further from the truth. A comparison has only to be made between the draughtsman student earning \$25 to \$75 a week, and the financially pressed university student who, in his summer vacation and by winter newspaper delivery, earns sufficient to pay fees and board and lodging.

Until 1931 (or about) the Canadian schools, like the British and



American, practised the design system of the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. That system ignored completely the technological discoveries of its age, and looked to the past, particularly to Greece, Rome and the Renaissance, as a vast reservoir from which to draw not only façades and details, but even plans.

Such was the method by which most school-trained men over forty years of age today received their education. They were equally at home in a variety of architectural manners, whether Georgian or Florentine or Gothic, and had a familiarity with the buildings of Brussels or Chipping Campden, probably greater than with those of their own cities.

Contemporary movements in painting and sculpture, a universal spirit of enquiry and an acceptance of the machine along with an understanding of its potentialities and limitations, have made the Modern Movement in Architecture an irresistible force. The teaching of the history of architecture has been revitalized. It has become an inspiration as a study of how Greeks, Romans and Goths solved the problems of their era, rather than a catalogue of buildings that could, with no great mental effort, be cribbed for contemporary purposes.

Along with a new appreciation of man and his environment affecting both architecture and town planning, has come a new interest (for the architect) in the humanities and social sciences. This new, and it is to be hoped, permanent addition to the curriculum varies in the different schools. In thinking of the educated Canadian professional man of the future, those responsible for the curricula of the Schools of Architecture can hardly ignore the broad general base in the humanities provided by Medicine (2 years pre-med.), and Dentistry (1 year pre-dental course).

Never were the schools in so healthy a state, never were the staff of the schools so cooperative, or the students so imbued with a desire to improve the physical environment of man in Canada. They await only the opportunity.

Foreign travel would benefit the best students in the universities. Scholarships for such purposes are not available in any school, though two competitive national scholarships have appeared since the war. One is the Pilkington Glass Company Scholarship, awarded annually for study in Europe; the other, the Fellows' Scholarship of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, awarded biennially. At the present time, all the Schools have a five year course, and all have a Senior Matriculation entrance requirement.

#### OFFICIAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT

The statistics of Federal construction are recorded in the Community Planning Association of Canada brief to the Commission, and from those

it is evident that the Government of Canada is the largest customer of the building industry in Canada. This has not always been so. It has been said that federal outlay on capital account in 1949 (a year when official policy was to hold some works in reserve) was so great in dollar value as to prompt a comparison with the whole revenue of the Federal Government in 1939, or the whole national outlay on construction in the boom year of 1929. Parliament spent many more times in 1949, on housing alone, than it did on all ordinary public works in 1939. The federal programme on so vast a scale has, therefore, reached its present proportions in a short space of time. Societies in other ages never saw so great a patron of architecture or so powerful a client. In the four years prior to January, 1949, more than eight billions had been spent on construction of which two billions had been spent on Government account. It is to be expected under such abnormal circumstances, that the Government should prove to be a relatively inexperienced customer in this field.

The relationship between a prospective building owner and the professionals who are to help him fulfil his needs is always an intimate one. Even for a moderate sized house, the architect will wish to know what his client can spend, how much he or his wife entertains, or how much they entertain jointly; the age and sex of children and the likelihood of additions to the family in the future, etc. The success of the finished building will depend a good deal on what the client knows about himself, and how much of that knowledge he can impart to his architect. In designing the new buildings for Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and Veterans' Affairs, one can imagine the amount of detail involved in this, perhaps modern, approach to architectural problems. Administrative heads of public agencies newly thrust into this role cannot be expected to master it at once—and some of them may have infrequent opportunities to practise it.

The relationship is difficult whether the professionals are on salary or are private practitioners. It is especially difficult when no single individual in the instigating agency has a clear conception of the needs to be met in all parts of the project, and this is often the case in work for government departments. To secure an accurate and concise programme of the functions of the project is the commonest difficulty encountered by private and public architects alike in relation to governmental works. The agency is apt to want to move in before it has really made up its accommodational mind.

An extension of the customary period for research into all departmental needs, both present and future, plus a greater time for the preparation of sketches and critical discussion of them, would in all cases produce better buildings. It would prevent changes during construction leading to

"extras", loss of time and, not infrequently, a break in the essential atmosphere of confidence between owner and architect.

The Federal Government, as a large, unapproachable corporate patron and client of architecture, will carry out satisfactory building programmes only so far as it determines to surmount the hazards inherent in corporate capital enterprise, of which, in Canada, it is the uniquely elaborate example.

If the observations above have any validity, it would seem desirable that the Government should:

- (a) deepen respect for the local scenes and societies among which it builds;
- (b) seek to stimulate local improvements and techniques through its work;
- (c) give greater study to the functional requirements of its agencies;
- (d) endow some projects with flexibility as proper to shifting jurisdictions;
- (e) intensify concern for the convenience and comfort of public building occupants;
- (f) encourage continuous developmental planning wherever federal agencies have to build;
- (g) encourage competitions for major works throughout the country. The mere fact of the government holding a competition in order to achieve only the best for itself and a community, would stimulate civic pride and an appreciation of architecture. The cooperation of the Federal Government with the local Planning Board would be apparent. The public showing of the competitive drawings would be the climax (short of the finished building), to an educational process new in Canadian public life.

Only major works should be included under the above. Post offices and the like in the smaller towns should be done, as many are now, by local architects as a commission.

Pursuit of some such principles as these would result in federal works that would be sound in a far wider sense than permanence and reasonable internal convenience. It should produce substantial, positive contributions to the architecture and interest of Canadian cities and towns.

It should preclude undue and erratic influences on official architecture from however persuasive a source. The present lack of purpose and principle in public building makes it an easy prey to personal whims and superficial suggestions.

If we can assume (a) that the Federal Government will continue indefinitely its rule as a heavy subscriber to building activity; and (b) that it will act with increasing respect for the *genius loci* where it builds, certain steps could be taken to make government and municipal cooperation effective. Regional Physical Development Committees might be set up with a permanent officer of the Department of Resources and Develop-



ment as chairman of each, and with officers of such departments as Public Works, Central Mortgage, Transport, and Health and Welfare as members—together with permanent officers of Provincial and Municipal agencies. The Regional Committees in Britain chaired by officers of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning would look like a useful prototype.

At first sight, such Regional Committees would look like a new bureaucracy to be set up in Metropolitan centres. That is not so, as all the officials mentioned, Federal, Provincial and Municipal, are already there, and perform separately their different functions.

Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, now the most active Federal building agency, already delegates great responsibilities to its Regional Supervisors. The District Architect of Public Works might serve local architects retained to design federal projects, in much the way in which the "architectural advisers" of the New York City Housing Authority assist private practitioners: counselling on standards, procedures, etc., without in any way impairing freedom to design the individual project. If the Government of Canada is worthily to fulfil its stewardship in the physical and cultural development of our communities, some such procedure should be adopted.

#### THE ARTS OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

The visitor to the French Embassy in Ottawa is immediately aware that he is on the soil of a country that rates its artists highly; that portrays its civilization not only in stone and mortar, but in the integrated efforts of architects, painters and sculptors.

It would be wrong to assume that European Governments give employment and encouragement to their artists only in "show pieces" in foreign lands. The practice seems to be common in Europe of adding a percentage to the cost of a building for painting and sculpture. The importance attached to the arts in the cultural life of a country is best shown not in great projects like the Stockholm Town Hall, but in smaller buildings like schools and hospitals.

The standard of school building design in Canada, especially in Ontario and British Columbia, has improved greatly since the war. In matters of daylight lighting and economy of construction, our schools compare favourably with schools abroad, but many lack any emotional appeal. They are usually admirably furnished for their needs, the majority are one storey in height, but their exteriors do not suggest that they house the happy, eager children of Canada. Classrooms and windows are standardized, and it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish the work of one architect from another.

Such a situation does not exist in Scandinavia or in Switzerland, where schools are not better planned and are, probably, not so well lighted. The architects in those countries have a greater regard for material (doubtless, at a price), including stone, dramatically placed; and the tremendous advantage of a budget which permits half to one per cent for mural decoration and sculpture.

In the past in Canada, mural painting and sculpture played a limited role in the embellishment of public buildings. Perhaps the architecture itself did not lend itself to such decoration, and the demand was so small that competent artists were not available. Certain it is that our town halls are for the most part dreary monuments where people would not go except for the payment of taxes or fines; our older post offices can only be described as sordid; our prewar public libraries give the appearance of being gloomy strongholds for the preservation of precious incunabula; and our smaller railway stations, in V-jointed varnished lumber, have not changed in design since the track was cut out of the prairie or the primeval forest.

All these buildings demand a new consideration of their design, but they demand also daylight and colour. They demand painting and/or sculpture, however modest in scale. Their appearance affects all Canadians at some time in their lives. We might well study the smaller railway stations of Italy, where the impact of good design, of decoration, even of beautiful posters in appropriate places leave an indelible impression on the traveller.

Contemporary architecture in Canada today is admirably suited to the complete collaboration of architect, painter and sculptor. With our modern appreciation of light, both artificial and daylight; with broad surfaces of unbroken wall and a free and open plan in public areas, there is every opportunity to make the utmost of the art of painter and sculptor.

The high level of taste in European countries is evident not so much in the great national galleries, as it is in the care of grounds, in a statue in an unexpected place, in the expenditure of money for painting and sculpture in buildings that, in Canada, would be considered coldly utilitarian or drearily official. Of perhaps greater significance is that this obvious pride in the arts is as evident in the village and the small town as it is in metropolitan centres.

Among the best examples in North America of the collaboration of architects, painters and sculptors are low rental subsidized housing estates in the United States. The best (so far as collaboration is concerned) were built in 1936 and 1937 when W.P.A. was able to spend funds for the assistance of sculptors and painters. The results can hardly be measured in terms of happiness to tens of thousands of former slum dwellers, and of professional satisfaction to scores of artists who had their "start" on these

"depression measures". The same authority employed artists on buildings of many types, but it is likely that nowhere were painting and sculpture more appreciated than in the densely populated housing estates.

Too often, our public buildings at all levels of government are made to occupy every dollar's worth of land. If greater care were taken in site planning in conjunction with local planning boards, great opportunities would be presented for the sculptor to display his art. It is no wonder that the art of the sculptor in Canada is the weakest of the arts—the opportunities for its development have not been there.

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The Royal Commission on the Arts, Letters and Sciences, early in its work when the extent and the complexity of its task became apparent, decided that it would be wise to call upon the specialized knowledge of a number of Canadian authorities in the various subjects with which the Commission was concerned. As a consequence, a number of Canadians eminent in their arts or their professions was requested to prepare studies for the Royal Commission on many of the matters falling within its Terms of Reference.

This volume contains twenty-eight of the studies thus prepared for the Commission, in somewhat abbreviated form. These studies are representative of those received by the Commission and are considered to be of the most general interest; and this book of Royal Commission Studies is published by the Commission as a companion volume to its formal Report.











